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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 17, November 1982

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31 January 1983

## USSR REPORT

### TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 17, November 1982

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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ADDRESS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM AND  
USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 3-5

[Text] Dear comrades!

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire Soviet people have suffered a heavy loss. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the loyal perpetuator of Lenin's great cause, ardent patriot, outstanding revolutionist and fighter for peace and communism, and greatest political and state leader of our time has passed away!

L. I. Brezhnev's comprehensive activities and life were inseparable from the most important stages in the history of the land of the soviets. Collectivization and industrialization, the Great Patriotic War and the postwar restoration, the development of the virgin lands and the organization of the study of outer space were also landmarks of the biography of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the great son of the working class. Wherever the party sent him, with his typical energy and persistence, daring and principle-mindedness, Leonid Il'ich struggled for its great ideals.

The Soviet people and our friends throughout the world justifiably link the consistent assertion of the Leninist norms of party and state life and improvements in socialist democracy with Comrade Brezhnev and his tireless work as CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. He wisely guided the activities of the Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo--the Leninist party headquarters--presenting a model of skillful organization of joint collective work. He played an outstanding role in the elaboration and implementation of the party's economic and sociopolitical strategy at the stage of developed socialism, the determination and implementation of a course of upsurge of the people's well-being, and the further strengthening of our country's economic and defense power.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev deserves permanent credit for shaping and implementing our party's policy in the international arena--a policy of peace and peaceful cooperation, detente and disarmament, firm rebuff of aggressive imperialist intrigues and prevention of nuclear catastrophe. He made a great contribution to the unification of the world socialist comity and the development of the international communist movement.

For as long as Leonid Il'ich's heart kept beating, his thoughts and actions were entirely subordinated to the interests of the working people. He had always maintained unbreakable close ties with the toiling masses. In the minds of the communists and of hundreds of millions of people on all continents he was and will remain the embodiment of Leninist idea-mindedness, consistent internationalism and revolutionary optimism and humanism.

Our loss is heavy and our sorrow is deep. In this hour of sadness the party members and all working people in the Soviet Union are rallying even closer around the Leninist CPSU Central Committee and its leading nucleus which developed under the beneficial influence of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. The people believe in the party and in its powerful collective mind and will. They support with all their hearts its domestic and foreign policy. The Soviet people well know that the banner of Lenin and the October Revolution, under which universal-historical victories were won, is in reliable hands.

The party and the people are armed with the great program for the building of communism, formulated at the 23rd-26th CPSU Congresses. This program is steadily being implemented. The party will continue to do everything possible to enhance the people's well-being on the basis of production intensification, upgraded work efficiency and quality and implementation of the USSR Food Program. The party will continue to show comprehensive concern for strengthening the alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia, strengthening the sociopolitical and ideological unity in Soviet society and the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, and the ideological tempering of the working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian and socialist internationalism.

The desire of the Soviet people for peace remains unchanged. The clue to the future lies not in preparations for war, which dooms the nations to the senseless waste of their material and spiritual riches, but to strengthening the peace. This noble idea imbues the peace program for the 1980s and the entire foreign policy activity of the party and the Soviet state.

We are aware of the entire complexity of the international situation and the attempts of aggressive imperialist circles to undermine peaceful coexistence and lead the peoples to the path of hostility and military confrontation. However, this cannot weaken our resolve to safeguard peace. We shall do everything that is necessary to prevent the amateurs of military adventures from catching the land of the soviets unawares and for the potential aggressor to know that a crushing retaliation will be inevitable.

Relying on its power and displaying the greatest possible vigilance and restraint, and preserving its invariable loyalty to the peace-loving principles and objectives of its foreign policy, the Soviet Union will persistently struggle to preserve mankind from the threat of nuclear war and for detente and disarmament.

We are joined in this struggle by the fraternal socialist countries, the fighters for national and social liberation, the peace-loving countries on

all continents and all honest people on earth. The policy of peace expresses the basic vital interests of mankind, for which reason the future belongs to it.

The Soviet people see in the party their tried collective leader, wise guide and organizer. Serving the working class and the working people is the supreme objective and the purpose governing all party activities. The inflexible unity between party and people was and remains the source of the indestructible strength of Soviet society. The CPSU sacredly cares for the trust of the working people, steadily strengthening its ties with the masses. Through practical experience the people have realized that regardless of the turn of events or trials, our party remains on the level of its historical mission. The domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, elaborated under the guidance of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, will continue to be pursued consistently and purposefully.

L. I. Brezhnev's life and activities will remain a permanent inspiring example of loyal service to the communist party and the Soviet people.

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers express their conviction that the party members and all Soviet people will display high consciousness and organization and, through their dedicated creative toil, under the leadership of the Leninist party, will ensure the implementation of the plans for the building of communism and the further blossoming of our socialist homeland.

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## INFORMATION ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 p 6

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee held an extraordinary plenum on 12 November 1982.

As instructed by the Central Committee Politburo, the plenum was opened and addressed by Comrade Andropov, Yu. V., CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

In connection with the death of L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the Central Committee plenum members honored the memory of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev with a 1-minute silence.

The Central Committee plenum noted that the communist party, the Soviet people and all progressive mankind have suffered a severe loss. An outstanding leader of the communist party and Soviet state and of the international communist, worker and national-liberation movements, and ardent fighter for peace passed away.

Having spent more than 50 years in the ranks of the Leninist communist party, 18 of them as its leader, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev made a tremendous contribution to strengthening the monolithic nature of its ranks and the political, socioeconomic and defense power of the Soviet Union. He played an exceptional role in strengthening peace and international security. The name of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, which is directly related to the great accomplishments in the life of our country--industrialization and agricultural collectivization, the historical victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the postwar restoration of our homeland's national economy, the study of outer space and all successes in the development of the Soviet economy, science and culture, has entered forever the history of the CPSU and of our great homeland.

The participants in the Central Committee plenum expressed their profound condolences to the family and close relations of the deceased.

The Central Committee plenum considered the problem of electing a CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

On the instruction of the Central Committee Politburo, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, delivered a speech. He made the motion that Comrade Andropov, Yu. V., be elected CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Comrade Andropov, Yuriy Vladimirovich, was unanimously elected by the plenum CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The plenum was then addressed by Comrade Andropov, Yu. V., CPSU Central Committee general secretary. He warmly thanked the Central Committee plenum for the high trust of electing him to the position of CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Comrade Andropov, Yu. V., assured the CPSU Central Committee and the communist party that he will dedicate all his forces, knowledge and practical experience to the successful implementation of the program for building communism, earmarked in the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, ensuring continuity in resolving problems related to further strengthening the economic and defense power of the USSR, upgrading the well-being of the Soviet people, strengthening peace and implementing the entire Leninist domestic and foreign policy course pursued under L. I. Brezhnev.

With this the plenum concluded its proceedings.

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YU. V. ANDROPOV'S CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SPEECH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 7-8

[Speech delivered on 12 November 1982]

[Text] Comrades!

Our party and country, the entire Soviet people have suffered a heavy loss. The heart of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, the noted personality of the international communist and worker movements, the ardent communist and loyal son of the Soviet people, has stopped beating.

The greatest political leader of our time has passed away. Our comrade and friend, a man with a great soul and great heart, sensitive and sympathetic, responsive and profoundly humane, has passed away. Boundless loyalty to the cause, uncompromising exigency toward himself and others, wise circumspection in making responsible decisions, principle-mindedness and daring in the sharp turns of history, and invariable respect, sensitivity and attention to people were the outstanding qualities for which Leonid Il'ich was valued and loved by the party and the people.

Let us honor the bright memory of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev with a minute of silence.

Leonid Il'ich said that every single day of his life is inseparable from the activities of the CPSU and the entire land of the soviets. This was indeed so.

The country's industrialization and agricultural collectivization, the Great Patriotic War and the postwar restoration, the development of the virgin lands and the study of outer space were the great landmarks of the toil and struggle of the Soviet people as well as landmarks in the biography of party member Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

The increased power and intensified comprehensive cooperation among the members of the great socialist comity, active participation of the global communist movement in resolving the historical problems facing mankind in our age, and strengthening the cohesion of all forces of national liberation and social progress on earth are inseparably linked to Leonid Il'ich's person and accomplishments.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev will be remembered forever by grateful mankind as a consistent, passionate and tireless fighter for the peace and security of the peoples and for removing the threat of a global nuclear war hanging over mankind.

We well know that peace cannot be begged out of the imperialists. It can be defended only by relying on the invincible power of the Soviet armed forces. As leader of the party and the state and chairman of the USSR Defense Council, Leonid Il'ich paid steady attention to maintaining the country's defense capability on the level of contemporary requirements.

Gathered here, in this hall, are the members of the headquarters of our party, which was headed by Leonid Il'ich for 18 uninterrupted years. Each one of us knows how much effort and heart he invested in the organization of joint and collective work and in ensuring that this headquarters continued to pursue the true Leninist course. Each one of us is familiar with the invaluable contribution which Leonid Il'ich made to the creation of the healthy moral and political atmosphere which characterizes today our party's life and activities.

The principled struggle waged by our party in defense of Marxism-Leninism, the elaboration of the theory of developed socialism and the means for resolving the most topical problems of building communism are linked with Leonid Il'ich's personality. His activities in the global communist movement has justifiably been given the highest possible rating by the fraternal parties and our foreign class friends and comrades in the struggle for socialism, against capitalist oppression and for the triumph of the great communist ideals.

The life of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev came to an end while his thoughts and efforts were directed toward resolving the most important problems of economic, social and cultural development as defined at the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenum. The solution of these problems and the systematic pursuit of the domestic and foreign policy course of our party and Soviet state, elaborated under Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's guidance, is our prime duty. This will also be the greatest honor we can pay to the bright memory of our departed leader.

Our sorrow is great and we have suffered a heavy loss.

Under these circumstances, it is the duty of every one of us, the duty of every party member to tighten our ranks even closer and to rally even more firmly around the party's Central Committee, and to do on one's post and in one's life as much as is possible for the good of the Soviet people, the consolidation of peace and the triumph of communism.

The Soviet people have infinite trust in their communist party. It is trusted because it has never had nor does it have interests other than the profound interests of the Soviet people. To justify this trust means to march forth in building communism and promote the further prosperity of our socialist homeland.



We have a force, comrades, which has helped and is helping us in our most difficult moments and which enables us to resolve the most difficult problems. It is the unity of our party ranks, the party's collective wisdom, its collective leadership and the unity between party and people.

Our plenum is meeting today to honor the memory of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and to ensure the continuation of the cause to which he dedicated his life.

The plenum must elect a CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

I ask the comrades to express their views on this matter.

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S SPEECH AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 9-10

[Speech delivered on 12 November 1982]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The Politburo has instructed me to address the present extraordinary Central Committee plenum.

Our extraordinary Central Committee plenum is truly extraordinary. The country and the party are in deep mourning. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has passed away.

The Soviet people have lost an outstanding leader who, for nearly 2 decades headed the party and the state, dedicating all his strength and tremendous capabilities to the happiness of the Soviet people and the building of communism in our country. We can say that mankind has lost a great and truly tireless fighter for the ideals of peace, freedom and social progress. We, the Soviet communists, our brothers in the socialist countries and our fellow workers in the world communist movement have lost a talented continuator of Lenin's cause, a man who taught us boundless loyalty to the interests of the working people.

There are no words to express the entire sadness of our loss. However, in these sad days the lessons given to us by the life of Leonid Il'ich, who was precious to all of us, help us greatly.

Leonid Il'ich had the total gift of living entirely with the interests of society, of the people. This was something that lasted from his adolescence to the last day of his life.

Leonid Il'ich well knew that pious wishes were meaningless. To express proper ideas was not enough. They had to be backed by efficient organizational work and made understandable and accessible to the broad toiling masses. He loved people. He knew how to trust people.

Leonid Il'ich was a man of exceptional courage. He proved this not only during the Great Patriotic War, in which he fought from the first to the last day. Throughout his entire life his courage never betrayed him. He valued, he valued highly in every comrade daring, principle-mindedness and firmness in all trials.

To be with Leonid Il'ich, to listen to him, and to feel the sharpness of his mind, his resourcefulness and cheerfulness was a school for all of us who had the luck to work with him hand in hand.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev leaves to us a valuable legacy. Our 18 million-strong party is united and cohesive. The Soviet people have infinite faith in the party's wisdom. Exigency and respect for cadres, unbreakable discipline and support of daring useful initiatives, intolerance of any manifestations of bureaucratism and constant concern for the development of ties with the masses and for true democracy within Soviet society have become the norms of our life.

Our duty to Leonid Il'ich's memory, our duty to the party and the people is to preserve and develop this style of leadership and to care for all that he has bequeathed us through word and deed. The leading party nucleus, its Central Committee and Politburo, which were shaped with the decisive participation of Leonid Il'ich, provide a firm guarantee that this will be so.

On behalf of the Politburo I wish to express my deepest conviction that our plenum proved to the entire country and the entire world that the party will firmly continue to follow the Leninist course which at the present stage is clearly and fully expressed in the decisions of the 23rd to the 26th CPSU Congresses. Our party's domestic and foreign policy, to whose elaboration and implementation Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev made a tremendous contribution, will be pursued confidently, consistently and purposefully.

The good of the people and the preservation of peace on earth were, are and will remain our guidelines.

We have a developed and properly considered socioeconomic program. The economy must be economical. This is the party's stipulation. In turn, this means the technical retooling of the industrial and agrarian sectors, improved management and, naturally, improved organization of labor and its increased productivity. Our national economy will be steadily developed and the well-being of the people will be improved on this basis. The country's defense capability will be strengthened on this basis as well.

We have a broad and specific peace program for the 1980s, consistent with the expectations of the people. Detente, disarmament, elimination of conflict situations and removing the threat of nuclear war are the tasks we set ourselves. We desire reliable security for ourselves, our friends and the peoples of the world.

Dear comrades!

Obviously, all of us realize that it will be extremely difficult to fill the gap caused by Leonid Il'ich's death. Today it becomes doubly and triply more important to conduct party work collectively. The joint and united work of all party organs will ensure further success in building communism and in our international activities.

Having discussed the developed situation, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has instructed me to submit to the plenum the election of Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov CPSU Central Committee general secretary. I believe it unnecessary to describe his biography. Yuriy Vladimirovich is well-known in the party and the country as a dedicated communist, loyal to the cause of the Leninist party, and as a very close fellow worker of Leonid Il'ich's.

Yuriy Vladimirovich has engaged in a variety of activities in domestic and foreign policy and ideology. He has been a Komsomol leader, a major party worker and a diplomat. He has worked hard to strengthen the socialist comity and to ensure the security of our state.

Leonid Il'ich highly valued his Marxist-Leninist convictions, party-mindedness, broad outlook and outstanding business and personal qualities. It is the belief of all Politburo members that Yuriy Vladimirovich has properly adopted Brezhnev's style of leadership, concern for the interests of the people, attitude toward cadres and resolve to oppose the intrigues of aggressors and to preserve and strengthen peace with all his strength.

Inherent in Yuriy Vladimirovich are party modesty, respect for the views of other comrades and, one can say, a predilection for collective work. It is the unanimous belief of the Politburo that Comrade Andropov is worthy of the trust of the Central Committee and the party.

Dear comrades! As we bow to the bright memory of Leonid Il'ich, we solemnly pledge that we shall tirelessly continue our constructive work. All that Leonid Il'ich was unable to complete and all that was planned by the party under his leadership will be accomplished.

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YU. V. ANDROPOV'S SPEECH AT THE FUNERAL MEETING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 11-12

[Speech delivered on 15 November 1982]

[Text] Comrades!

Our party and people, and all progressive mankind have suffered a severe loss. Today we are escorting Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev on his final trip--the great son of our homeland, the ardent Marxist-Leninist, the outstanding leader of the communist party and Soviet state, the most outstanding leader of the international communist and workers movements, and the tireless fighter for peace and friendship among the peoples. Allow me above all to express my profound condolences to Leonid Il'ich's family and relatives.

Leonid Il'ich was part of the galaxy of political leaders who grew up and were tempered during the years of dedicated struggle waged by the Soviet people for consolidating the gains of the Great October Revolution, implementing Lenin's behests, building socialism in our country and ensuring its freedom and independence.

Worker and soldier, outstanding organizer and wise political leader, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev maintained deep and unbreakable ties with the people. His entire life and work were dedicated to serving the interests of the working people. He dedicated to the cause of socialism--to the society of freedom and social justice and fraternity among working people--his entire outstanding talent and tremendous energy.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's activities in the high positions he held in the leadership of the party and the state are related to an exceptionally important period in the history of our party and country. The party's policy, imbued with deep concern for the working man and the upsurge of the people's well-being, was formulated and systematically implemented under his guidance; the Leninist norms of party and state life and the beneficial atmosphere of joint and united work were firmly established.

The nations will remember forever Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev as an outstanding fighter for durable peace and peaceful cooperation among nations. He struggled for detente, for saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war and for strengthening the unity of the socialist comity and the international communist movement systematically and with the entire passion of his heart.

Comrades! In this hour of grief, as we part with Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, our entire party and its Central Committee proclaim their resolve to implement firmly and systematically the strategic domestic and foreign policy line which was formulated under Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's beneficial influence.

As they rally around the party and its Leninist Central Committee and its collective leadership even more closely, the Soviet people proclaim their support of the party's policy and their boundless faith in it. The party will continue to do everything that is necessary to enhance further the living standards of the people, develop the democratic foundations of Soviet society, strengthen the economic and defense power of the country and solidify the friendship among the fraternal peoples of the USSR. The CPSU Central Committee will firmly implement the resolutions of the 26th party congress and the will of the Soviet people.

We shall do everything possible to ensure the further consolidation of the cohesion within the great comity of socialist states and unity within the ranks of the party members the world over in the struggle for common objectives and ideals. We shall preserve and develop our solidarity and cooperation with countries freed from colonial oppression and the struggle of the peoples for national independence and social progress. We shall always remain loyal to the cause of the struggle for peace and detente.

Under difficult international circumstances, when the forces of imperialism are trying to lead the peoples to the path of hostility and military confrontation, the party and the state will inflexibly defend the vital interests of our homeland. They shall maintain high vigilance and readiness to deal a crushing blow at any attempt at aggression. They will multiply their efforts in the struggle for the security of the peoples and will strengthen their cooperation with all peace-loving forces on the planet. We are always ready for honest, equal and mutually profitable cooperation with any country which wishes it.

In these days of sorrow we feel with particular strength the support and solidarity with our party and Soviet people of the working people in the socialist countries, the fraternal parties, and all fighters for social progress. For this we are grateful. We are also grateful to the governments and peoples of the numerous countries on all continents who are honoring these days the memory of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

Comrades! The CPSU firmly proclaims that serving the cause of the working class, the toiling people, communism and peace, to which Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev dedicated his entire life, is and will remain the supreme objective purpose of all its activities.

Farewell, dear Leonid Il'ich! The memory of you will remain in our hearts forever. Your cause will be pursued through the accomplishments of our party and people!

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## INFORMATION ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 p 13

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee held its regular plenum on 22 November 1982.

The plenum heard reports submitted by Comrade N. K. Baybakov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and USSR Gosplan chairman "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1983" and by Comrade V. F. Garbuzov, USSR minister of finance, "On the 1983 USSR State Budget."

The following comrades spoke on the reports: V. V. Grishin, Moscow city party committee first secretary; G. V. Romanov, Leningrad Oblast party committee first secretary; E. A. Shevardnadze, Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary; A. P. Lyashko, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers chairman; G. S. Zolotukhin, USSR minister of procurement; G. P. Bogomyakov, Tyumen Oblast party committee first secretary; N. V. Pereverzeva, combine team leader at the Put' Lenina Kolkhoz, Rostov Oblast; V. P. Demidenko, first secretary of the Kustanay Oblast party committee, Communist Party of Kazakhstan; G. P. Lotsmanova, assembly worker at the computers plant in Kazan; L. G. Kletskov, first secretary of the Grodno Oblast party committee, Communist Party of Belorussia; and B. V. Bakin, USSR minister of installation and special construction work.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, delivered a major speech at the plenum. The speech was carried by the press.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum unanimously passed a decree on the matters which were discussed, and which was published in the press.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum considered organizational matters.

The Central Committee plenum promoted Comrade G. A. Aliyev from candidate to full member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo;

The Central Committee plenum relieved Comrade A. P. Kirilenko from his duties as Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary for reasons of health and on his personal request. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted that Comrade A. P. Kirilenko had actively worked for many years in the local party organs and the CPSU Central Committee and that we duly acknowledge his merits to the party and the country.

The Central Committee plenum elected Comrade N. I. Ryzhkov CPSU Central Committee secretary;

The Central Committee plenum promoted the following comrades from candidates to full members of the CPSU Central Committee: V. S. Alkhimova, USSR Gosbank chairman of the board, V. S. Makarenko, first secretary of the Crimean Oblast, Communist Party of the Ukraine, and N. V. Pereverzeva, combine team leader at the Put' Lenina Kolkhoz, Rostov Oblast.

The Central Committee plenum approved the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Perpetuating the Memory of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev." The decree is published in the press.

This ended the plenum's proceedings.

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SPEECH BY YU. V. ANDROPOV, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE GENERAL SECRETARY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 14-22

[Yu. V. Andropov's 22 November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum speech]

[Text] Comrades!

We are completing our discussion of the draft plan and budget for the next year of the five-year plan. The documents submitted to us include a number of essential notes which were made by the Politburo. I believe that in the course of the plan's implementation the Council of Ministers will also take into consideration the suggestions expressed today by the comrades.

Judging by the statements of the comrades who spoke out at the plenum, it is our commonly shared view that the draft plan and budget are consistent as a whole with the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress and therefore should be approved (applause).

What is characteristic of the draft plan? It calls for accelerating the pace of economic development and increasing the absolute growth of national income, industrial and agricultural output and volume of retail trade. It calls for continuing the efforts to upgrade economic efficiency, for the stressed assignments must be carried out with a relatively small increase in material outlays and manpower.

It is important to emphasize that the draft plan follows the party line of upgrading the well-being of the working people. It calls for a faster growth of the group "B" sectors and for increasing the production of consumer goods. Substantial material and financial resources are being appropriated for the further development of the agroindustrial complex. Real population income will continue to grow. The volume of housing construction is equally consistent with the five-year plan assignments.

Therefore, the draft plan proves that concern for the Soviet person and for his working and living conditions and spiritual development remains the most important party programmatic stipulation.

As always, the needs of defense have been properly taken into consideration. The Politburo has always considered it mandatory, particularly considering the current international situation, to provide the army and navy with everything necessary.

The draft budget ensures the financing of the national economy and sociocultural development.

Comrades! The party's current Central Committee plenum is taking place during an important stage in the struggle for the implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan--on the eve of its third year, its core, so to say. We have done a great deal. However, difficult and intensive work lies ahead.

I would like to draw most emphatically your attention to the fact that the planned assignments for the first 2 years of the five-year plan remained unfulfilled for a number of most important indicators. Naturally, this also affects the draft we are discussing today.

The Central Committee members recall the last speeches by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and his notes to the Central Committee Politburo on problems of economic development. They formulated the problem as follows: we developed a scientific economic policy at party congresses and Central Committee plenums and charted a course of upgrading production efficiency and intensification. However, the transfer of our economy to this track and a turn toward efficiency are still being accomplished too slowly.

The main indicator of economic efficiency--labor productivity--is growing at a pace which cannot satisfy us. The problem of uncoordinated development of raw material and processing sectors remains. Material intensiveness remains virtually the same.

As in the past, the plans are fulfilled at the cost of substantial outlays and production costs. Many economic managers remain who, while willingly repeating the inspiring words of Leonid Il'ich to the effect that the economy must be economical, fail in practice to resolve this problem.

Clearly, the power of inertia and old habits is still active. It is also likely that some people simply do not know how to carry out this project. We must think of the type of help which such comrades need. The main thing is to speed up our efforts to improve the entire area of economic management--administration, planning and the economic mechanism.

We must create the type of conditions--economic and organizational--which would stimulate qualitative and productive work, initiative and enterprise. Conversely, poor work, idling, and irresponsibility must be such as to influence most directly and irreversibly the material rewards, official position and moral authority of the working people (applause).

Greater responsibility must be shown in observing the interests of the state and the people. We must decisively uproot departmentalism and parochialism. We must make it a rule that each new decision dealing with the same problem be made only when past decisions have been carried out or else whenever new circumstances have arisen. We must engage in a decisive struggle against all violations of party, state and labor discipline. I am convinced that in this we shall be fully supported by the party and trade union organizations and all Soviet people (applause).

A great deal is being said of late to the effect that the autonomy of associations, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be increased. I believe that the time to do this, to adopt a practical approach to the solution of this problem, has come. To this effect instructions have been given to the Council of Ministers and the Gosplan. In this area we must act cautiously and, if necessary, experiment, weigh and also take into consideration the experience of the fraternal countries. In all cases, increased autonomy must be combined with increased responsibility and concern for national interests.

Our national economy has extensive reserves. This was mentioned in today's speeches as well. Such reserves must be sought in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the extensive and fast practical utilization of the achievements of science, technology and progressive experience. Naturally, this is not a new problem. It has been frequently raised at party congresses and Central Committee plenums. Nevertheless, progress has been slow. Why? The answer is quite old: in order to apply a new method or new equipment, one way or another we must reorganize the production process. In turn, this affects the plan fulfillment. Furthermore, people are held accountable for failures in the production plan but are at best taken to task for inadequate utilization of new equipment.

If we wish truly to make progress in the installation of new equipment and application of new labor methods, the central economic organs, the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and the ministries must not simply promote them but define and eliminate the specific difficulties which hinder scientific and technical progress. The combination of science with production must be assisted by planning methods and a material incentive system. Those who boldly undertake to apply new equipment should not find themselves in detrimental situations.

The efficient use of material and manpower resources is another major reserve. The 1983 plan sets increased assignments regarding their conservation. Comrades, let us pay attention to the fact that today the question of the conservation of material resources must be considered in a new light rather than in terms of "to economize is good but failure to economize will do as well."

Today an economical, a thrifty attitude toward the people's good is a matter of the realistic nature of our plans. The solution to this problem must be ensured through an entire system of practical measures, above all on the part of the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab, and the ministries and departments. All party committees and party organizations must do extensive work in this area.

We can cite many examples of creative work and of a truly economical attitude toward the people's good. Unfortunately, however, this experience is not being properly disseminated. Yet this frequently does not require particular outlays. Therefore, what we are short of is initiative, a decisive struggle against negligence and waste.

Naturally, this problem can be resolved only with the participation of every worker, every working person in our enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. We must see to it that they develop a personal interest in this task.

Generally speaking, comrades, the national economy faces many ripe problems. Naturally, I have no ready-made prescriptions for their solution. However, it is precisely all of us--the party's Central Committee--who must find answers to such questions. We must find them by summing up domestic and global experience and combining the knowledge of the best practical workers and scientists. In general, no progress can be achieved through mere slogans. We need the extensive organizational work of the party organizations, the economic managers and the engineering and technical personnel, so that every single one of these tremendously important problems be considered not only on the scale of the individual sector but the individual plant, shop and section and, if you wish, the individual work place.

I would like to emphasize that these problems are primary and of vital importance to the country. Their successful solution will mean further economic growth and the improved well-being of the people.

Measures related to the implementation of the Food Program hold a central position in our plans.

The initial steps on the implementation of the decisions of the May 1982 Central Committee Plenum had to be taken under rather difficult circumstances. This year again the weather was not kind to us. This makes it even more important to note the dedicated work of the rural working people. Thanks to this as well as the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture, a number of oblasts, krays and republics achieved good results. Compared with last year the grain crop was substantially higher. Good cotton, vegetable and grape crops were raised. Milk and egg production increased. The auxiliary farms of industrial enterprises are gathering strength. Concern for the development of the private auxiliary plots has been justified. However, breakdowns in supplies of some foodstuffs have not been eliminated.

Naturally, everyone realizes that the implementation of the Food Program will take more than a single year. This is a fact. However, we must frankly say something else as well: the implementation of the Food Program must not be delayed. Day after day, the workers in the agroindustrial complex must increase their efforts and work in such a way that the huge funds channeled into the solution of this problem may start yielding returns already today and even more so tomorrow.

It is the view of the Politburo that the course of implementation of the decisions of the May 1982 Central Committee Plenum must be discussed at the forthcoming plenums and aktiv meetings of party committees and sessions of soviets of people's deputies, which will be discussing next year's plans. All practical actions in this important economic sector must be checked against the Food Program.

I shall not dwell in detail on the fact that we must complete the farm year properly, preserve the harvested crops, lay the foundations for next year's harvest and winter the cattle successfully. All of this is self-evident. We must smoothly undertake the solution of the new problems and consider them in close connection with the basic directions followed in the development of the agroindustrial complex, bearing in mind that it is precisely a question of a complex in which there are no secondary problems.

The 1983 plan pays great attention to increasing production and improving the quality of consumer goods, something which Leonid Il'ich considered particularly important. The task is not only to increase output but considerably to upgrade the quality of consumer goods. This applies not only to the light and local industries but to heavy and defense industry enterprises as well.

The local party and soviet organs must become closely involved with the production of consumer goods, as Comrade Baybakov pointed out here with full justification. Indeed, it is not normal for the problem of the production of a number of simple commodities to be resolved on a level almost equal to that of the USSR Gosplan. Such concerns must be assumed by the local organs which must be entirely responsible for their solution.

Allow me now to discuss some central problems related to the development of basic industrial sectors. Let us consider above all the further development of the fuel and energy complex. The increase in primary energy resources by some 41 million tons in terms of conventional fuel, planned for 1983, is entirely within our possibilities. This will enable us to ensure the uninterrupted and rhythmical work of all power systems.

The thrifty utilization of coal, natural gas, petroleum, petroleum products, and thermal and electric power is very important. Naturally, this requires a certain reorganization in all sectors and, above all, the extensive installation and application of energy-conserving equipment and technology, improving the norms and the utilization of material and moral incentives in the struggle for conservation and the formulation of stricter requirements governing overexpenditures and exceeding established norms and ceilings.

The following item will be submitted for consideration at the forthcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session: to organize within the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities permanent power industry commissions which will control the work of ministries and hold accountable economic managers whatever their position for the wasteful utilization of resources.

We must energize the work of the oblast, kray and republic commissions controlling the organization of this matter at enterprises.

The Politburo is concerned with the situation in the transportation system. The Ministry of Railways is still failing to meet the needs of the national economy for hauling fuel, timber and other freight. The CPSU Central Committee has received a large number of reports to this end sent by local soviet and economic organs. This was already discussed today at the Central Committee plenum.

Unfortunately, with every passing year the work indicators of the railroads are worsening despite the substantial assistance which the government is giving the Ministry of Railways. Compared with 1975, the volume of capital investments for this ministry increased by 43 percent, and the fleet of main diesel and electric-powered locomotive engines increased by 23 percent. The CPSU Central Committee and the government passed a number of resolutions on improving the social conditions of railroad workers and the transportation economic mechanism. However, so far these measures have not yielded adequate returns.

The level at which the Ministry of Railways is organizing the repair and use of the locomotive fleet and the organization of traffic remains low. Clearly, not only the management of the ministry but the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee should draw serious conclusions from the remarks expressed at this plenum (applause).

Breakdowns in the work of ferrous metallurgy enterprises have become more frequent. Both last and this year the sector has failed to cope with its planned assignments. The national economy fell short of several million tons of rolled metal. The responsibility for the state of affairs in this sector falls above all on the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy. Naturally, objective difficulties exist as well. A considerable share of the capital assets requires reconstruction and modernization. The ministry needs substantial help on the part of the Gosplan, the Gossnab and the machine-building ministries.

We are appropriating tremendous funds for the development of the economy, the creation of new capacities and housing and cultural construction. Their efficient use is a task of exceptional importance. Nevertheless, a number of problems remain in the area of capital construction. We must wage an even more decisive struggle against the scattering of forces and funds among numerous projects. We must increase the share of reconstruction and modernization and reduce the number of new construction projects. We are also quite dissatisfied with the organization of construction work itself. Year after year the shortcomings in this area lead to the underfulfillment of plans for the installation of production capacities. A number of construction ministries are reducing the volume of their construction and installation work, although the government is allocating substantial funds for strengthening the material and technical base of such ministries and is supplying them with machines and equipment. In frequent cases the quality of construction and installation projects remains low. The flexibility of construction organizations remains inadequate.

A number of decisions aimed at the elimination of such shortcomings have been made. They must be carried out. Bringing order in capital construction is one of the main national economic tasks.

I shall not now discuss other areas and economic sectors. All of them are important to our society and our people. Each ministry and department must study the situation and analyze it again and again most attentively and earmark and take steps to resolve existing problems. The main criterion on the basis of which they must assess their work is the level at which the sector satisfies the steadily growing public requirements.

A steady economic upsurge and the improved well-being of the people are both our duty to the Soviet people and our international duty. By formulating the question thusly the party is guided by Lenin's perspicacious stipulation that we are exerting our main influence on the global revolutionary process through our economic policy.

Comrades!

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's death triggered abroad a large number of assumptions regarding the future course to be followed by the CPSU and the Soviet state in international affairs. Just think of the large number of attempts made in recent years to ascribe to the Soviet Union all kinds of sinister intentions and to depict our policy as aggressive and as threatening the security of one country or another. It turns out now that there is concern regarding changes in our policy. Its preservation is considered an important prerequisite for international peace and tranquility.

Let me say with a feeling of full responsibility that Soviet foreign policy was and will remain as it was stipulated in the resolutions of the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses. The permanent objectives of our foreign policy are securing a lasting peace and defending the rights of nations to independence and social progress. The leadership of the party and the state will act in a principled, consistent and weighed manner in the struggle for these objectives (applause).

We consider that the difficulties and stresses which characterize today's international situation can and must be surmounted. Mankind cannot infinitely tolerate an arms race and wars unless it wishes to gamble with its future. The CPSU is against converting the clash of ideas into a confrontation between countries and nations and for weapons and readiness to resort to them become the yardstick of the potency of a given social system.

Imperialism's aggressive efforts force us, along with the fraternal socialist countries, to be seriously concerned with maintaining defense capability on the necessary level. However, as Leonid Il'ich frequently emphasized, military rivalry is not our choice. The socialist ideal is peace without weapons.

Our party's most important concern will continue to be that of strengthening the socialist comity. Our strength and prerequisite for final success even during more severe trials lie in unity.

All plans of the socialist comity are plans of peace and construction. We are aspiring to make comradely cooperation and socialist mutual aid among fraternal countries deeper and more efficient. This includes the joint solution of scientific and technical, production, transportation, energy and other problems. It is on this level that our further joint steps are being currently formulated.

The CPSU and Soviet state sincerely wish the development and improvement of relations with all socialist countries. Reciprocal good will, respect for reciprocal legitimate interests and common concern for the interests of

socialism and peace should indicate proper solutions even in areas in which, for a variety of reasons, the necessary trust and reciprocal understanding are still lacking.

This also applies to our great neighbor--the People's Republic of China. The ideas formulated by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his Tashkent and Baku speeches and his emphasis on common sense and on the need to surmount the inertia of prejudice were an expression of our entire party's belief and aspiration to look ahead. We pay particular attention to each positive response to this on the Chinese side.

The importance of the group of countries within the nonaligned movement is increasing in international life. The Soviet Union maintains a variety of friendly relations with a number of them, favoring both sides and contributing to greater stability in the world. This is exemplified by the relations existing between the USSR and India. Solidarity with countries freed from colonial oppression and peoples defending their independence has been and remains one of the fundamental principles governing Soviet foreign policy.

From the very first days of the Soviet system our state has invariably expressed its readiness to engage in open and honest cooperation with all countries willing to reciprocate. Differences in social systems should not be a hindrance, nor are they wherever good will is manifested by both sides. This is convincingly confirmed by the noticeable progress made in the development of peaceful cooperation between the USSR and a number of Western European countries.

It is our profound conviction that the 1970s, which passed under the sign of detente, were not, as some imperialist leaders claim today, an accidental happenstance in the difficult history of mankind. No, the policy of detente is by far not a past stage. The future belongs to it (applause).

Everyone is equally interested in preserving peace and detente. Therefore, statements according to which readiness to normalize relations are linked with the demand that the Soviet Union must pay for this with some preliminary concessions in a great variety of fields are not serious, to say the least. We do not intend to do this (applause). Actually, there is nothing for us to eliminate: we have not used sanctions against anyone, we have not abrogated concluded treaties and agreements, we have not broken off initiated talks. Allow me to reemphasize that the Soviet Union is in favor of agreements which must be sought on the basis of reciprocity and equality (applause).

We do not consider that the establishment of existing differences is the purpose of talks with the United States and other Western countries, mainly on problems of restraining the arms race. To us talks are a means of combining the efforts of different countries for the sake of achieving results useful to all sides. Problems do not disappear by themselves if talks are conducted for their own sake as, unfortunately, is frequently the case. We favor the search for a strong foundation, acceptable to all sides, in resolving even the most complex problems, naturally, above all that of



restraining the arms race, whether nuclear or conventional. Let no one expect of us, however, one-sided disarmament. We are not naive (applause).

We do not demand of the West unilateral disarmament. We favor equality and consideration of the interests of both sides and reaching an honest accord. For this we are ready (applause).

As to nuclear strategic weapons which both the USSR and the United States have, in particular, as we know the Soviet Union is agreeable to both sides "freezing" their arsenals as a first step on the way to a future agreement and thus creating more favorable conditions for continuing the talks on their mutual reduction.

In general, the USSR rejects the viewpoint of those who are trying to make people believe that power and weapons resolve and will always resolve everything. More than ever before the peoples are coming to the proscenium of history. They have gained the right to speak, which no one can suppress. Through their active and purposeful efforts they can eliminate the threat of nuclear war and safeguard peace and, therefore, life on our planet. The CPSU and the Soviet state as well will do everything possible to achieve this (applause).

Comrades!

The 26th CPSU Congress has specified the party's long-term strategy for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980s. Its purpose is to enable the Soviet people to live better with every passing year and have increasingly tangible returns from their labor and for our socialist system increasingly to reveal its humane nature and constructive possibilities.

Major and largely new tasks have been formulated in all areas of economic and social progress. Naturally, success depends on a number of factors, above all on the purposeful collective efforts of the Central Committee and our ability to direct the activities of party, state and economic organs and all labor collectives along key directions.

We must mobilize all efforts at our disposal and organize the extensive dissemination and explanation of the assignments of the 1983 plan. They must be specified in terms of the assignments of the individual enterprise and labor collective. This is the first thing. The second is properly to deploy the cadres so that politically mature, competent and initiative-minded people, good organizers with a feeling for the new be positioned in the key sectors, for without this a modern production process cannot be managed successfully (applause).

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Secondly, cadres must be positioned in such a way so that politically mature people are found in critical sectors -- people who are competent, enterprising, and who have organizational ability and a feel for what is new, all of which are needed to successfully manage production in our times.

Thirdly, we must enhance the activeness of the toiling masses themselves. This today is the most important task facing the party committees and the soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs. The party's ideas, plans and appeals are converted into a material force, as we know, only when they have been mastered by the masses. It is particularly important and necessary now for every working person to realize that the implementation of the plan depends on his labor contribution as well. Everyone must well understand the simple truth that the better we work the better we will live and, as Lenin emphasized, the broader the scale of our plans and production assignments "the more millions of people must become involved in independent participation in the solution of these problems" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 446).

This means that the further development of socialist democracy is needed in the broadest meaning of the term, i.e., the increasing active participation of the toiling masses in the management of governmental and public affairs. Naturally, the importance of being concerned with the needs of the workers and the working and living conditions is self-evident.

We shall always remain invariably loyal to the Leninist norms and principles which have become firmly established in party and state life (applause).

Comrades! The tasks facing us are tremendous and difficult. However, our party is strong enough to resolve them.

The parting with Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev proved once again to the entire world that our communist party and Soviet people are indivisible and that they live with the single aspiration of following firmly and steadfastly the Leninist path.

Once again the Soviet people proved their infinite loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, their profound respect and love for their party, organization, firmness and confidence in their strength.

We are advancing toward an important event in the history of our multinational socialist state--the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. These days the Soviet people turn their best thoughts toward our Leninist party which was at the origins of the founding of the USSR and is wisely leading the peoples of our country in building communism.

The guarantee for all of our future victories is to strengthen the unity between party and people and firmly to follow the behests of the great Lenin (lengthy applause)!

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ON THE DRAFT STATE PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR  
AND THE USSR STATE BUDGET FOR 1983

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 23-24

[22 November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree]

[Text] 1. The draft state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR and the USSR state budget for 1983 are hereby approved in their essential lines.

The USSR Council of Ministers will submit said drafts for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

2. The practical activities of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on implementing the party's course in domestic and foreign policy and the implementation of the tasks in building communism, elaborated at the 26th party congress, are hereby approved fully and in their entirety.

The stipulations and conclusions presented in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the CPSU Central Committee plenum are hereby approved; they must become the base of activities of all party organizations.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics, the party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the party organizations, the soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and the ministries and departments must develop organizational and mass political work aimed at implementing the forthcoming economic-political tasks, ensuring the further strengthening of the economic and defense power of the USSR and taking the necessary measures for the successful completion of the 1982 assignments and the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1983 economic and social development plan.

Noting the particularly great importance of the successful implementation of the 1983 economic and social development plan in terms of the five-year plan as a whole, the Central Committee plenum draws the attention of the party, soviet, economic and other organizations and labor collectives on the need to focus all their efforts on the implementation of the most important tasks formulated at the 26th party congress--increased public production intensification and improved national economic efficiency. Maximal use must be made of existing opportunities for improving economic activities, accelerating scientific and technical progress and increasing labor productivity in all

economic units as well as increasing production output and improving its quality. Particular attention must be paid to considerably improving capital construction in all economic sectors and implementing prospective measures in terms of observing the norms of fuel, raw material, and other outlays of material, financial and labor resources. The all-round improvement in the work standard aimed at further improvements in economic planning and management and perfecting the style and methods of such management must be considered a most important task.

Prime attention must be paid to the implementation of the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the fulfillment of the USSR Food Program, the systematic development of the fuel-energy complex and the further enhancement of the material and cultural living standards of the Soviet people.

In this connection strengthening state, labor and performing discipline at each production sector and in all management areas, upgrading work organization and efficiency, extensively developing socialist competition in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and other economic sectors, fuller utilization of intensive economic development factors and existing reserves, conservation of all types of resources, improving quality indicators, and reaching the highest possible end results with the lowest possible outlays must be ascribed great importance. The achievements of science, technology and progressive experience must be persistently applied. Strict control over the implementation of decisions must be ensured.

The efficiency of foreign economic relations must be upgraded; cooperation with the socialist countries must be expanded and intensified above all.

3. The CPSU Central Committee plenum expresses its firm confidence that the workers, kolkhoz members and members of the intelligentsia--all working people of our multinational socialist homeland--closely rallied around the communist party, will properly welcome the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, will mark 1983 with new accomplishments in economic and cultural construction and will ensure the country's further successful progress on the Leninist path to communism.

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## EMBODIMENT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 25-33

[Article by Academician I. Mints]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism on Proletarian Internationalism

Following the defeat of the interventionists and the White Guards in the civil war, V. I. Lenin turned to the working people of the Ukraine, which the victorious Red Army units had entered, with a letter in which he formulated the party's plans for national construction. "We wish a voluntary union of nations," he pointed out, "the type of union which would not allow any violence committed on the part of one nation over another, the type of alliance which would be based on complete trust, clear awareness of fraternal unity and entirely voluntary agreement. Such an alliance cannot be accomplished immediately; one must work up to it with the greatest of patience and caution...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 43).

All of Lenin's theoretical and practical activities and the entire history of the party he created are a convincing proof of such efforts.

Mankind has dreamed for ages of a society without coercion and oppression, in which relations among nations would be based on friendship and equality. However, the laws of social development under the conditions of a system based on exploitation blocked friendship among nations: the ruling classes did not acknowledge it and did everything possible to oppose a rapprochement among nations in the fear of losing their power. The plans for resolving the national problem suggested by progressive thinkers remained a dream. Marxism alone was able to answer a question which had puzzled mankind. An end to inequality and national oppression could be found only in a society ruled by labor.

From the very moment of its appearance Marxism proclaimed proletarian internationalism the most important principle governing communist party activities. Mocking the confused and vague dreams of a union of European republics and the unification of nations "under the aegis of universal freedom of trade" and other meaningless phraseology, F. Engels clearly wrote that "...without noise and loud-sounding phraseology the proletariat of all nations is beginning truly to fraternize under the banner of communist democracy. For the proletariat alone can accomplish this, since the bourgeoisie of each individual country has its own particular interests, and since these interests are

more important to it than anything else it is unable to rise above nationality...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 2, p 590).

Two years after this general concept of proletarian internationalism was formulated in the Communist Party Manifesto in the words of the great slogan "workers of the world unite!" which became the victorious slogan of the working people of all countries and continents.

Years went by. Wherever capitalism developed and a proletariat appeared workers' organizations were being created and tried to unite in their own country as well as internationally. The bourgeoisie opposed this drive to unity through all possible means, proclaiming it an "international revolutionary conspiracy," and a "betrayal of the nation." The International Association of Workers, which is known in history as the First International, was born in 1864. Its bylaws stipulated that "the present association has been founded for the purpose of being a center of relations and cooperation among associations of workers existing in different countries and pursuing the same objective, i.e., the defense, development and total liberation of the working class" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 16, p 13).

The International Association gave moral and, frequently, financial aid to the workers' organizations which were being established. Proletarian internationalism particularly developed in the period of the Paris Commune, which was enthusiastically welcomed by the First International. On behalf of the First International K. Marx wrote that "the Paris of workers with its Commune will be always honored as the great predecessor of a new society. Its martyrs have been engraved forever in the great heart of the working class. History has already nailed its executioners to the pillar of shame from which no prayers of their priests will be able to free them" (op. cit., vol 17, pp 366-367).

However, it was precisely proletarian internationalism, which showed itself so vividly in the attitude toward the Paris Commune, that literally turned the world bourgeoisie wild. Whereas previously it frequently considered the First International a curio, a phenomenon to be ignored, biting mockingly its activities without, however, condemning it, after the Paris Commune the First International appeared as a giant, as the center of the global revolutionary movement threatening the foundations of capitalist rule. The entire bourgeois press hurled itself on the First International, demanding of the authorities to ban it.

The anarchists, headed by M. Bakunin, on whose initiative the Swiss Juras Federation distributed to all organizations within the First International a resolution which accused its leadership of dictatorship and the desire to command and to impose its will on the local federations, was a true find for the global bourgeoisie. The anarchists opposed party discipline. They were against any centralization of forces whatever and opposed the weapons used by the proletariat in its struggle.

Engels harshly condemned the attempts of the anarchists to deprive the proletariat of leadership and to abolish party discipline. "It is precisely

now, when we must defend ourselves with all our forces," he wrote, "that the proletariat is asked to organize itself not in accordance with the needs of the struggle which is imposed upon it every day and every hour, but in accordance with the vague ideas of some dreamers of a society of the future!" (ibid., p 482).

Engels' article was addressed to all local organizations, the majority of which supported the struggle for a militant centralized international workers' organ.

In fighting the First International, the world bourgeoisie tried to drive it out of its class positions, pitting against it the bourgeois-pacifist Peace and Freedom League, which had been created in 1867 in Switzerland by petit bourgeois republicans and liberals. The league intensively promoted the idea of the possibility of putting an end to war by creating a "United States of Europe," thus encouraging false illusions while actually diverting the proletariat from the class struggle.

F. Lassalle's supporters introduced nationalistic trends in the United Social Democratic Party of Germany: in the draft so-called Gotha party program the class slogan of proletarian internationalism--"international workers brotherhood"--was replaced by the league's slogan--"the international fraternity of nations." The German bourgeois press noted the fact, stating that the workers' party had rejected its internationalism.

Marx sharply criticized the worker party's sliding away from class positions. "To what is the German workers' party reducing its internationalism?" he angrily wrote. "To the awareness that the result of its aspirations will be an 'international fraternity of nations.' This phrase, borrowed from the bourgeois Peace and Freedom League is to replace the international fraternity among working classes of different countries in their joint struggle against the ruling classes and their governments. And so, not a word is being said on the international functions of the German working class!" (op. cit., vol 19, p 22).

Marx and Engels stubbornly defended the principles of proletarian internationalism and exposed any departure from it, any attempt to distort its nature and to move away from class proletarian positions.

Lenin adopted and continued this great tradition. He closely followed the course of history, the bourgeois tactics in particular. He firmly opposed any bourgeois attempts to eliminate, distort or weaken the internationalism of the working class. Imperialism brought with it a reaction along the entire chain and intensification of national oppression. Having divided the world among themselves, the imperialists of different nations hurled themselves with incredible cruelty on the weak, dependent and backward nations, turning them into colonial slaves by the force of arms and huge amounts of money. The coercion of financial capitalism triggered the protests of the enslaved masses. The liberal bourgeois and their petit bourgeois supporters (mensheviks, liquidationists, the Bundt and other petit bourgeois parties) tried to assume the leadership of the awakening masses by formulating a

number of plans for the solution of the national problem. Lenin exposed the true nature of these plans which called not for the elimination of the main culprit for national oppression but merely the elimination of the particularly coercive aspects of imperialism. Actually, all of these plans, the most extensively promoted among which was the so-called "national-cultural autonomy," served the bourgeoisie. The plan for national-cultural autonomy was reduced to the requirement that every citizen, regardless of his place of residence, would proclaim his affiliation with a given nation and the right to cultural autonomy was to be granted to this artificially created nation.

Lenin convincingly proved that this plan for the solution of the national problem was aimed against the internationalism of the labor movement, for it divided the proletariat, distracted it away from the common struggle and thus made it the accomplice of the bourgeoisie in its own country. "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism," he wrote, "are two irreconcilably hostile slogans corresponding to the two big class camps within the capitalist world and expressing two different policies (more than that: two outlooks) related to the national problem. In defending the slogan of national culture and building on its basis an entire plan and a practical program for a so-called 'national-cultural autonomy,' the Bundt people are in fact promoting bourgeois nationalism among the workers" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 24, p 123).

The world's situation changed once again with the outbreak of World War I and the principle of proletarian internationalism was subjected to new trials. The war unleashed by imperialism proved to be its most bloody crime. Imperialism doomed mankind to monstrous suffering--to the slaughtering of its most active young segment, high cost of living, hunger and disease. The angry protest of the popular masses, which threatened to develop into revolutionary action, rose everywhere. As a result, many leaders, even those of parties within the Second International, who had betrayed socialism and supported imperialism, as well as individual members of the bourgeoisie, began to call themselves internationalists and to talk of the need to put an end to the war. Lenin pointed out that these leaders were far from supporting proletarian internationalism, for they continued to support the culprits for the war and had not broken up with the right-wing segment of the opportunistic parties--the social chauvinists--and avoided measures which would truly result in a termination of the war, such as refusing to support military expenditures, the organization of strikes and revolutionary actions and assuming their leadership.

Lenin exposed this distortion of proletarian internationalism. "Internationalism in action," he wrote, "can be one and one only: dedicated efforts to develop the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country and support (propaganda, sympathy, material) of the same type of struggle and line, and only it, in all countries without exception" (op. cit., vol 31, p 170). Lenin repeatedly turned to this clear and precise definition of proletarian internationalism which did not allow for any variety of interpretations or distortions.



The February revolution in Russia opened the broadest possible opportunities for practicing proletarian internationalism in action. Lenin emphasized above all that the Russian revolution is the beginning and a structural component of the global revolution. On 3 April 1917 [sic], barely home after many years of foreign exile, he delivered his historical speech in which he emphasized that the October Revolution marked the beginning of a socialist revolution on an international scale. Lenin tirelessly repeated that the Russian revolution is only part of the universal revolutionary proletarian movement, and that the tasks of a revolutionary party must be defined only from this viewpoint.

All this proved the bolshevik loyalty to the principle of proletarian internationalism and the understanding of their obligations stemming from this principle. These thoughts were expressed with particular emphasis after the October Revolution, when the bolshevik party assumed the power by the will of the working people. On 4 November, approximately 1 week after the establishment of a Soviet system, answering a statement by left-wing S.R. member G. Zaks to the effect that "the West is remaining shamefully silent," Lenin said at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee: "We believe in a revolution in the West. We know that it is inevitable. However, it can clearly not be ordered.... We cannot decree a revolution but we can help it" (op. cit., vol 35, pp 60-61). The statement by the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars became the foundation of all Soviet activities related to helping revolutionary actions in other countries.

At the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in January 1918, recalling the words of Marx and Engels to the effect that "the Frenchman will start it and the German will complete it," Lenin said: "Matters developed unlike what Marx and Engels expected. They gave us, the Russian working people and exploited classes, the honorable role of vanguard of the international socialist revolution and we now clearly see how far the development of the revolution will reach...." (ibid., p 279).

When a powerful national liberation movement began to spread throughout the world under the influence of the ideas of the Great October Revolution, the parties within the Second International and even many bourgeois parties began to speak of the importance of internationalism and to describe themselves as internationalist. In this connection, Lenin wrote that "petit bourgeois nationalism considers internationalism an acknowledgement of the equality of nations and nothing else, preserving (not to mention the purely verbal nature of this acknowledgement) national egotism intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first of all, the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country to the interests of the same struggle on a universal scale; secondly, it demands the ability and readiness on the part of a nation which is in the process of defeating the bourgeoisie to engage in the greatest national sacrifice for the sake of overthrowing international capital" (op. cit., vol 41, pp 165-166).

In studying the experience of the revolutionary movement, Lenin always pointed out the new forms of practical embodiment of proletarian internationalism. He set a particularly high value to the participation of

internationalists in the October Revolution and in the defense of its gains. Many of them (who had found themselves in Russia mainly as prisoners of war) joined the ranks of the Red Army. In precisely the same manner Russian war prisoners in Germany and Austria-Hungary fought in the revolutionary detachments of these countries.

Sending off to the front a regiment which included members of different nationalities, Lenin said: "You have been granted the great honor to defend with your arms the sacred ideas and, together with yesterday's enemies at the front--Germans, Austrians and Hungarians--to achieve in fact the international fraternity of nations" (op. cit., vol 37, p 26).

The entire history of the international revolutionary movement proves that the principle of proletarian internationalism, one of the most important in the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine, was adopted and strictly observed by the revolutionary-Marxist parties.

#### Proletarian Internationalism in Action

In fighting for the creation of a party of a new type, Lenin insisted on having a single party for the workers of all nationalities in the country. He emphasized this idea in the very name of the party--not merely Russian but a social democratic party of Russia, i.e., a party of proletarians of all of Russia, regardless of nationality. Superbly familiar with the history of the global revolutionary movement, the bylaws and experience of many parties in particular, Lenin categorically condemned the model offered by the social democratic movement in multinational Austria, which had not a single but separate national social democratic parties. This weakened the positions of the worker parties and strengthened the bourgeoisie, for under circumstances marked by constant national squabbles the social democratic parties frequently allied themselves with their national bourgeoisie. In tirelessly fighting for party unity, Lenin emphasized that the party's organizational structure is directly related to the solution of the national problem:

"We want to reach total unity--both from below and on the national problem.

"This unity is possible. It existed and exists in the Caucasus (four nations). It existed in 1907 in Riga (Latvians, Lithuanians, Russians) and in Vilna (Lithuanians, Latvians, Poles, (Russians), Jews)--and in both these cities it was aimed against Bundt separatism" (op. cit., vol 48, pp 146-147).

Lenin, who ascribed tremendous importance to this experience, wrote to M. Gor'kiy that "both in our country and the Caucasus social democratic Georgians, Armenians, Tatars and Russians worked together, within a single social democratic organization, for more than 10 years" (ibid., p 162). Here again he emphasized his idea of the direct connection between party structure and national problem. He further added in his letter that "this is not a mere statement but a proletarian solution to the national problem. It is the only solution. Such was the case in Riga: Russians with Latvians and Lithuanians; only the separatists--the Bundt--stood aside. The same in Vilna" (ibid.).

In conclusion, Lenin voiced his firm conviction that "no, the baseness which exists in Austria will not exist here. We shall not allow it! Furthermore, we have a preponderance of Great Russians. We shall not allow the 'Austrian spirit' among the workers" (ibid.).

The entire history of the CPSU is proof of Lenin's accuracy: party unity was and is vigilantly safeguarded as the basic and decisive prerequisite for the successful building of socialism, including national construction.

Proletarian internationalism was manifested particularly convincingly in the very course of the October Revolution. Following the overthrow of autocracy in Russia in February 1917, the national liberation movement in the country assumed a particularly tempestuous development. The bolshevik party faced the task of finding specific means for the solution of the national problem. In this connection, Lenin wrote that "... the Great Russians will not hold by force Poland, Kurland, the Ukraine, Finland, Armenia or any other nation. The Great Russians offer a fraternal alliance to all nations and the founding of a common state based on the voluntary agreement of each individual nation in no way through coercion, direct or indirect" (op. cit., vol 32, p 41).

The entire bourgeois and petit bourgeois press launched an extensive slanderous campaign against Lenin, claiming that the bolsheviks were calling for the "breakdown of a great power," "turning Great Russia into a toy for the imperialists," and so on. Lenin answered all such attacks with the calm assertion that the bolsheviks are not calling for the breakdown of the state but for the elimination of national oppression and violence: "We want a fraternal alliance among all nations.... Should the Ukrainians see that we have a Soviet republic they would not secede ; should we have a Milyukov-style republic, they would" (op. cit., vol 31, p 436).

Life, this great teacher of nations, confirmed Lenin's accuracy before the slanderers had been able to fabricate a new fiction. The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which opened on 25 October 1917 and which proclaimed that the soviets held full power, stated in the appeal "To the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!" written by Lenin, that the Soviet system "will ensure for all nations inhabiting Russia the true right to self-determination" (op. cit., vol 35, p 11). No more than a week later, on 2 November, the Sovnarkom adopted Lenin's draft of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," the main point of which was "the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, including secession and the establishment of an independent state" ("Dekrety Sovetskoy Vlasti" [Decrees of the Soviet System]. Vol I, Moscow, 1957, p 40).

Within an extremely short period, which Lenin described as the "triumphal march" of the Soviet system, the Soviet system won throughout the country. The right of nations to self-determination was achieved and Soviet republics were created. The first All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, which met on 11-12 December in Kharkov, resolved that the soviets will assume full power and that the Ukrainian Soviet republic would become a "federated part" of Soviet Russia. Informed of the establishment of a Soviet system in the Ukraine, on 16 December the Sovnarkom issued a congratulation which read:

"Welcoming the founding in Kharkov of a truly people's Soviet system in the Ukraine, and considering this National Assembly of Workers and Peasants the true government of the People's Ukrainian Republic, the Council of People's Commissars pledges to the new government of the fraternal republic total and comprehensive support in the struggle for peace and for possession by the toiling people of the Ukraine of all land, factories, plants and banks" (ibid., pp 245-246).

Soviet systems were established in Belorussia, Estonia and Latvia in October-November 1917. At the beginning of November the Soviets assumed the power in Baku (on the territory of the remaining part of the Transcaucasus the counter-revolution succeeded to remain in power for a while), and in Tashkent and Moldavia, in January 1918.

This brief enumeration of events alone proves how deeply the popular masses became aware of the idea of soviets and how greatly valued was the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism was put to a severe test in February 1918, when German imperialism attacked Soviet Russia. In mounting its offensive, the German predator relied on the breakdown of the Soviet republics. It gained the support of Ukrainian traitors, who promised grain in exchange for German military assistance in the struggle against the Soviet system. German troops, requested by Georgian mensheviks, landed in Georgia, planning to reach Baku across it. In turn, Germany's military opponents--the members of the Entente--sent detachments to Central Asia to overthrow the Soviet system in Turkestan. The Russian counterrevolution solemnly welcomed the interventionists and was already numbering the days remaining until the fall of the young Soviet republic. The bolsheviks found themselves in a very difficult situation: "left-wing communists" and "Trotskyites" were opposing Lenin within the party. However, the interventionists did not take into consideration the firmness of the proletariat and the popular masses, the loyalty of the bolsheviks to the lofty Marxist principles, and the brilliance of the party's leader.

The Ukrainian communists, who were forced to dedicate all their strength to the struggle against German imperialism, did not flinch in the face of the enemy and honorably carried out their international duty. The Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Soviets supported Lenin in his struggle for peace. It emphasized in its decree that "... Taking into consideration the interests of the development of the socialist revolution and deeming necessary the preservation and strengthening of socialist Petersburg and Moscow as the starting points of the global revolution, in turn the Central Executive Committee of Soviets of the Ukraine does not find it possible to oppose the ratification of the peace treaty between the Russian Federation and Germany and Austria and therefore instructs its delegates (to the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets--the author) to vote in favor of the ratification of this peace treaty" ("Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsiya na Ukraine" [The Great October Socialist Revolution in the Ukraine]. Vol III, Moscow, 1957, p 317).

The Latvian bolsheviks as well favored an end to the war. They stated that "the fate of Latvia should not constitute grounds for continuing the war" ("Ocherki Istorii Kommunisticheskoy Partii Latvii" [Essays on the History of the Communist Party of Latvia]. Part I, Riga, 1962, p 426). The Belorussian and Estonian bolsheviks took the same position. The Baku and Caucasian kray bolshevik committees approved the party's Central Committee line of making peace, which was also supported by the Turkestan bolsheviks.

As a whole, at its seventh congress the party supported Lenin's peace suggestion.

During the dramatic days of Brest, when the fate of the Soviet system largely depended on the support of the world proletariat, Lenin formulated an exceptionally important concept: proletarian internationalism presumes not one-sided but interrelated relations. The land of the soviets made a tremendous national sacrifice--the loss of the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic area--but saved the Soviet system and the base of the world revolution. The defeat of the Paris Commune gave capitalism more than 30 years of relatively peaceful development (until the 1905-1907 revolution in Russia) and the doom of the Soviet system would throw the global revolutionary movement back decades. Emphasizing that concluding a separate peace with Germany was a form of aid to the international revolution, Lenin noted that "unquestionably, such a revolution is ripening and strengthening with every passing month and week. This ripening force must be helped. We must know how to help it. It will not be helped but harmed by allowing the defeat of a neighborly Soviet socialist republic at a time when it obviously has no armed forces" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 35, p 396).

The Soviet system fulfilled its international duty regardless of national losses and pledged to fulfill it at all times. The Leninist resolution adopted at the Fourth Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which convened to ratify the treaty with Germany, said that "the congress expresses its firm conviction that the Soviet system, which has firmly fulfilled all its obligations of international solidarity among workers of all countries in their struggle against the yoke of capitalism and for socialism, will continue to do everything it can to help the international socialist movement and to ensure and accelerate the path which leads mankind to freedom from the yoke of capitalism and hired slavery and to the creation of a socialist society and a durable and lasting peace among nations" (op. cit., vol 36, p 123).

In exposing K. Kautsky and his supporters, who put national interests higher than duties stemming from the principle of proletarian internationalism, Lenin pitted against them the lofty example of the valor of the Ukrainian proletariat, which carried out its international duty. He emphasized that the struggle waged by the Ukrainian workers and poorest peasantry against the German occupation tempered them as revolutionary fighters for the proletarian revolution. "The German workers," Lenin wrote, "would have achieved an even greater success had they made a revolution regardless of national sacrifices (this precisely is the nature of internationalism) and had they stated (and

proved through their actions) that they consider the interests of the international workers revolution above the integrity, security and tranquility of their specific, their own national state" (op. cit., vol 37, p 109).

Internationalism was manifested with extraordinary vividness when the Entente hurled itself against the Soviet republics in 1919-1920. To this day the defenders of imperialism are looking for an explanation for the fact that in their confrontation with global imperialism the Soviet republics not only withstood but won. Lenin has answered this question. "We won," he said at the First All-Russian Congress of Working Cossacks, held in March 1920, "because we were and could be united, because we could have allies in the camp of our enemies. Although infinitely more powerful, our enemies were defeated because there neither was nor could there be any unity among them and because with every passing month their struggle against us meant a breakdown within their own camp" (op. cit., vol 40, p 168).

Lenin, who ascribed exceptional importance to unity among the peoples in the country, formulated as early as May 1919 "Draft Central Committee Directives on Military Unity," in which he stressed the following:

"Taking into consideration:

"1. the fact that the RSFSR is forced, allied with the fraternal Soviet republics of the Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Belorussia, to engage in a defensive battle against the common enemy--global imperialism and the Black Hundred and White Guard counterrevolution it supports," the RKP Central committee has deemed it necessary to unify the command of all Red Army detachments as well as military logistics and railroad transportation (see op. cit., vol 38, p 400). The governments of the Ukraine and the other Soviet republics passed resolutions on military unity. On 1 June 1919 the All-Russian Central Executive Committee issued a decree on the military alliance among the Soviet republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and Belorussia in the fight against world imperialism.

This was a firm rebuff of the attempts of foreign and domestic enemies to divide the united front of the peoples and to pit nationalism against internationalism.

Internationalism was manifested with equal strength and convincingness after the intervention and the civil war in Russia and when the RSFSR was to attend its first international conference, in Genoa. Eight independent Soviet and people's republics (the Azerbaijani, Armenian, Georgian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Khorezma, Bukhara and Far Eastern) concluded an agreement with the RSFSR which was to represent their interests in the international conference and sign on their behalf agreements with other countries.

The experience gained in the 5-year-long struggle against global imperialism and the wise, calm and persistent policy pursued by our communist party, which was guided by Lenin's instruction to "work up" to the voluntary non-coercive formation of an alliance, based on total trust and clear awareness of fraternal unity, were preparations for the unification movement of

the working people of all Soviet republics. At the meetings of their Soviet congresses, all Soviet republics solemnly expressed themselves in favor of the unification, which indeed took place on 30 December 1922.

A multinational state of a new type was created for the first time in world history. Multinational states had existed since most ancient times. However, all of them were based on the sword and violence and died by the sword or broke down as a result of insoluble internal contradictions. Multinational states exist today as well--suffice it to name the United States where, behind the screen of the declaration of human rights a system of most cruel racial and national oppression of dozens of millions of blacks and Indians--the previous owners of the land--the Puerto Ricans and other national minorities--is concealed.

A multinational state unfamiliar with any type of oppression, including national, is possible only under socialism.

Proletarian internationalism runs throughout the entire history of Soviet society. It remains the basic principle of national-state construction under developed socialist conditions. The entire 60-year history of the Soviet Union proves the heights of true equality and friendship that can be reached in relations among nations when they are based on the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism.

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## IN A FREE AND NEW FAMILY

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[Article by A. Lyashko, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers chairman]

[Text] The peoples of the Ukraine are welcoming the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR under circumstances of tremendous political and labor upsurge and in the blossoming of all of their creative forces. Within a short time a distance equal to centuries has been covered. History has never known such a headlong advance toward the peaks of political, economic, social and spiritual progress experienced by the Ukrainian and the other Soviet peoples. Our republic grew the powerful wings which made this flight possible through the friendship and fraternity among all nations and nationalities, forever united by Rus' within a single union state, the launching pad for which was the socialist system born of the Great October Revolution. The working people of Soviet Ukraine are justifiably proud of their historical accomplishments and are brimming with feelings of most profound gratitude and thanks to our Leninist party, the great Russian people and all peoples of the land of the soviets for the peace and happiness acquired as a result of becoming part of the USSR.

Soviet Ukraine is one of the republics in the developed socialist society built in our country through the efforts of all the peoples within the USSR, under the guidance of the communist party. The qualitatively new features and characteristics inherent in a mature socialist society entirely and fully determine the economy and culture and the social and political development of our republic.

Economically, the Ukraine is an organic component of the country's single national economic complex. Its economy was organized and is developing on the basis of the all-union division of labor in a state of inseparable unity with the economies of the other union republics, as a single economic organism all of whose elements are interrelated. The unification of all forces and resources and a qualitatively new type of production cooperation multiplied the internal factors of economic growth. "... It is only in cooperation with the Soviet republics, united with them and thus increasing our own forces tenfold," L. I. Brezhnev said, "that the people of the Ukraine can truly straighten its shoulders and find scope for its labor energy and talent!"



The Ukrainian SSR has a powerful advanced industry, a large-scale and highly mechanized agriculture, a developed transportation system, and a high scientific and technical potential. The republic's national economy is characterized by a purposeful, comprehensive, systematic and dynamic development, based on the total domination of socialist production relations and the requirements of objective economic laws.

A multisectorial industry is the economic base of the UkSSR. The industrial image of the republic is determined by the powerful plants and mines of the Donbass, the very big metallurgical complexes along the Dnepr, the machine-building associations in Kiev and Kharkov, the powerful system of hydro-electric power plants on the Dnepr, the large chemical enterprises of the Poles'ye and the Carpathian area, the shipyards in the south and the nuclear power plants.

The successes achieved in the development of industry and its technical advancement are striking in scale. In 60 years the local volume of output has increased by a factor in excess of 280; compared with 1940, when the republic had reached a high level of industrial development, it has increased by a factor of 15. The following figures reveal the current production scale: in 1981 126 million tons of marketable iron ore were extracted; 35 million tons of finished rolled metal goods were produced; and 231 billion kilowatt hours of electric energy were generated. As to consumer goods, Ukrainian sugar production totaled 5.2 million tons; leather shoes, 175 million pairs; and television sets, more than 2.6 million.

The existing and systematically improving social division of labor ensures the possibility of obtaining high end results with lowest possible outlays. Priority is given to sectors for the development of which, in the interest of the entire country, the republic has the necessary raw material resources and skilled cadres. In accordance with the Leninist course of national policy pursued by the CPSU of reaching economic equality among all nations and nationalities and individual areas, the accelerated development of production forces in the West Ukrainian lands, which were reunited with the UkSSR, was ensured. In 1981 the volume of industrial output exceeded the 1940 level by a factor of 66 in Lvov Oblast, 44 in Rovno Oblast, 33 in Yvano-Frankovsk Oblast, 34 in Volyn Oblast, 32 in Ternopol Oblast, and 54 in the Transcarpathian Oblast (compared with 1946), which is higher than the double to quadruple rate averaged by the entire republic. Great successes in industrial development were achieved in the 1970s: the volume of industrial output increased by 72 percent, including 21 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Profound quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the republic's agrarian sector, which is one of the main agricultural parts of the country. Reorganized on a socialist basis, agricultural production has accounted for a considerable increase in crop growing and animal husbandry output. The nature of labor and the entire way of rural life have changed radically. Particularly fruitful results have been achieved thanks to the systematic implementation of the party's contemporary agrarian policy, the

foundations for which were laid at the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and developed in subsequent party decisions, as convincingly confirmed by the following figures:

During the 10th Five-Year Plan the average annual output exceeded the level of the 7th Five-Year Plan by 47 percent for grain, 58 percent for sugar beets, 56 percent for meat and a factor of 1.5 for milk. Between 1966 and 1980 funds invested in the development of the sector were higher by a factor of 3.6 compared with the previous 5-year period. Within that time the power-labor ratio in agriculture was increased by a factor of 3.5. Today one out of five agricultural workers is a mechanizer! Whereas in 1965 agriculture employed 147,600 specialists with higher and secondary specialized training, today their number exceeds 396,000. These positive changes reveal the vital power of Lenin's agrarian party policy which ensures the further strengthening and development of the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system and the entire agro-industrial complex as a necessary prerequisite for rural socioeconomic progress and the people's well-being.

Soviet Ukraine has a developed modern transportation system, which is an important link within the unified transportation system of the country. The operated network of railroad tracks in the republic totals 22,600 kilometers. The length of spurs to industrial enterprises and construction sites is even greater. Large sea and river ports handle ships from various parts of the world on a virtually year-round basis. They account for about one-third of the country's maritime haulage. Automotive, pipeline and air transportation systems have been organized and developed extensively.

Capital construction has become one of the biggest sectors of the Ukrainian national economy. Under the Soviet system the overall volume of capital investments here has totaled 354 billion rubles. The following figures provide an idea of the scope of capital construction: during the 1970s electric power plants generating 18.7 million kilowatts were completed. This exceeds the power generated by all electric power plants in the republic in 1940 by a factor of 7. A similar dynamism is inherent as a whole to the economy and to literally each individual sector.

No less important is the fact that the technical base of the national economy has changed radically. Most profound changes have taken place in production technology and equipment. The worker--the main productive social force--has been largely freed from manual, heavy and unskilled labor.

Today the republic's industry has 32,000 mechanized assembly and automated lines and 18,200 comprehensively mechanized and automated sectors, shops and production lines. The mechanization of production processes in agriculture has advanced greatly. A number of crops are cultivated without manual labor. By the end of 1981 the republic's agriculture numbered 413,000 tractors, 93,000 grain-harvesting combines and other modern equipment. The high pace of renovation of productive capital, particularly its active part, is a characteristic feature of the development of the national economy. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone 35 percent of the productive capital was renovated.

The republic's scientific potential is a most important component of its economy. Today it numbers more than 200,000 scientific workers. One-third of them are doctors or candidates of sciences.

In close cooperation with the scientists in all Soviet republics, the Ukrainian scientists have enriched domestic and world science with outstanding accomplishments in various fields of knowledge. They are making an important contribution to the development of basic and applied research along the main lines of scientific and technical progress. The UkSSR Academy of Sciences, which was organized in 1919, has become one of the largest scientific centers in the country. It includes dozens of major scientific research institutions with good experimental facilities. The results of scientific research are being increasingly embodied in progressive technologies and equipment. The ways and means of management of scientific and technical progress and of all units within the complex chain which links science to production are being improved steadily. During the 10th Five-Year Plan the republic's national economy applied on an annual average more than 11,000 scientific developments worth in excess of 2 billion rubles. During that period 4,000 new types of machines, equipment, apparatus, instruments and automation facilities were created. Science became an active production force.

Such is today the economy of Soviet Ukraine--an organic component of the unified national economic complex of the country, representing the material base of the developed socialist society.

Socially, the Ukrainian people are developing as an integral part of the new historical community--the Soviet people. This community arose as the legitimate result of the gradual rapprochement among classes and nations, the elimination of major disparities between town and country and mental and physical labor and the internationalization of all aspects of social life and processes based on collectivistic principles inherent in socialism. Like the other peoples of our country, after decades of joint life and work within a united socialist state, the Ukrainian people have acquired the social, psychological and moral characteristics shared by all Soviet nations.

Under the Soviet system radical changes have taken place in the Ukraine in terms of living standard, population social structure and national relations. The poverty and privations of the popular masses and class and national oppression have become forever a thing of the past. The "kingdom" of liberated labor has come.

The needs of the people and the degree to which they are satisfied have increased manyfold. The well-being of the people has reached a qualitatively new level. Conditions are being secured for the all-round harmonious development of the individual. Achievements in resolving an exceptionally important social problem such as housing are among the greatest gains of socialism. Under the Soviet system housing built in the Ukraine has totaled 674.1 million square meters. Compared with 1922, urban housing facilities have increased by approximately a factor of 12. No less impressive are the successes achieved in protecting the population's health. Today we average

one physician and almost three secondary medical workers per 265 people. There are 126.9 hospital beds per 10,000 population, which is a rather high indicator. A most profound change has taken place not only in the material living conditions of all working people. A true revolution has taken place, which radically changed the spiritual world of man, in the fields of education, culture and ideology. In prerevolutionary times nearly three-quarters of the Ukrainian population could neither read nor write. Today, as in the rest of the country, there is virtually universal mandatory secondary education of the youth. In 1959 43.8 percent of the republic's employed population had higher and secondary (full and partial) training; only 20 years later the figure exceeded 81 percent. Achievements in socioeconomic development and in enhancing the material and cultural living standards of the people are the equivalent of an entire age.

The social progress of Soviet Ukraine suitably reflects the results of the social development of all republics and the country at large. A rapprochement among all classes and social groups in Soviet society takes place at the developed socialist stage as its specific social relations advance.

The working class is the leading force, the nucleus of the Ukrainian people. Its role in social life and share of the total population is increased. Whereas workers with their families accounted for 42.6 percent of the population in 1959, they accounted for 54.8 percent in 1979, i.e., for the majority. The educational and vocational standards of the working class have increased immeasurably. More than 80 percent of the workers had higher and secondary (full and partial) training in 1979, compared with only 47 percent 20 years ago.

The social aspect of the kolkhoz peasantry has changed unrecognizably. Under the influence of the changes which are taking place in agricultural production, the share of kolkhoz members and their families of the total population has been dropping. Over the past 20 years it has dropped from 41.4 to 23 percent. This change was paralleled by important qualitative changes in their educational and vocational training levels. In 1979 58 percent of all kolkhoz members had higher and secondary (full and partial) training, compared with 24 percent in 1959.

The intelligentsia is a very dynamic and fast-growing structural element in society. This is due to faster scientific and technical and social progress. In the republic the share of employees and members of their families has increased from 15.6 percent in 1959 to 22.2 percent in 1979. Today one out of four workers is engaged primarily in mental work the application of which is steadily expanding. The importance of the intelligentsia in social life is increasing.

As an inseparable part of the Soviet people, the people of the Ukraine are multinational. People of more than 100 nationalities live on the republic's territory. Under the conditions of socialism, particularly at its mature stage, a comprehensive rapprochement among nations and nationalities takes place both within the Ukraine as well as throughout the country. The results of this process are clearly apparent everywhere.

Let us take language as an example. According to the 1979 census the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians speak Russian freely; 11 percent of them consider Russian their native tongue. Major areas in the Ukraine such as the Donbass, Krivbass and the Pridneprov'ye, noted for the high level of migration and urbanization, represent a sort of laboratory for the organization of highly developed international groups. Multinational labor collectives have become a mass phenomenon in the republic. This applies primarily to major construction projects which employ members of different nationalities. They are an important school for international education and unity. The training of national economic cadres is conducted on a truly internationalist basis. University and student collectives of VUZs and technical and vocational-technical schools consist of young people belonging to many different nationalities. In turn, republic school graduates go to work in various parts of the country. Families of mixed nationalities have become widespread. Currently they account for 22 percent of the Ukrainian population.

Such are, in their general features, the characteristics of the people of the Ukraine as a structural component of the historically new social and international community--the Soviet people. "This community," the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR" emphasizes, "is based on the inseparability of the historical destinies of the Soviet people, the profound objective material and spiritual changes, and the inviolable alliance among the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. It is the result of the growing internationalization in economic and all social life and the development in our country of socialist nations among which relations of true equality, fraternal mutual aid and cooperation, respect and mutual trust have been established."

In the area of spiritual culture Soviet Ukraine is an inseparable part of the single Soviet culture, which is socialist in content, varied in its national forms and internationalist in spirit and nature. It is a vivid example of a historically unparalleled blossoming of the creative forces and talents of the working people, impossible without the gains of socialism. The standards reached by Soviet Ukraine in the fields of education, science, literature and art confirm the existence of a spiritual potential worthily representing socialist civilization in the field of world culture.

The Soviet education system, the most democratic in the world, is a reliable foundation for the growth and dynamic functioning of the cultural and creative potential of the republic. Equally significant is the role of science in the development of spiritual culture. The transformation of science into a direct production force under socialist conditions is a powerful incentive for upgrading general education and cultural standards and the shaping of the dialectical-materialistic outlook of the Soviet people. Scientific knowledge is international in nature, for which reason its extensive dissemination and mastery on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology contributes to a tremendous extent to the development of international convictions and ideals.

The process of internationalization and rapprochement with the cultures of all fraternal peoples of the USSR and the establishment and development of the features and characteristics of a unified culture of the Soviet people

represent the main trend, the main pattern in the further development of the socialist spiritual culture of Soviet Ukraine. Marxist-Leninist ideology, which totally dominates the minds and hearts of the overwhelming majority of Soviet people of all nationalities, is the ideological motive force of this process. However, the ideological international unity of spiritual culture in our society does not mean in the least the leveling of its national variety and specific nature of national forms. "... International culture," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is not non-national...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 24, p 120). He emphasized that under the conditions of the elimination of class-antagonistic relations the removal of national barriers does not reduce but increases by a million times the "differentiation within mankind in terms of the wealth and variety of spiritual life" (op. cit., vol 26, p 281).

A convincing proof of the historical justice of Lenin's prediction is the more than 60-year-old history of the multinational Soviet literature and art, including those of the Ukraine. As we know, in the realm of spiritual culture the dialectics of the national and the international is manifested most characteristically--the truly people's and accurate works of literature and art are inconceivable without penetrating deeply into the characteristics of national mentality and national character. Such are the best works of Ukrainian Soviet writers, cinematographers, painters, composers, actors, etc. It is precisely by virtue of the party-mindedness, nationality and artistic truth of these works that they cannot fail to reflect the laws governing changes in the real content of national mentality and the national character of the Soviet people.

It is precisely in this area that we find the great cultural-historical meaning of the Leninist friendship among the peoples of our socialist homeland and the fact that the most viable traditions of national cultures and national characteristics of the mentality and nature of the peoples of the USSR, consistent with the socialist way of life and communist ideals, lose their features as a factor for separation among people of different nations. Manifestations of variety and originality of nationwide, all-Soviet, i.e., international and socialist cultural traditions and psychological and character features are becoming increasingly important in terms of the national features in socialist culture, thus becoming a factor in the international unification of people, based on the profoundly humanistic nature of socialist culture.

As it develops within the united all-union stream, Ukrainian culture encompasses the best features created in the spiritual area by the Russian and the other peoples of our country. At the same time, the true accomplishments of Ukrainian culture, literature and art become elements of the entire Soviet culture. In this powerful process of internationalization of spiritual life the place and significance of features and characteristics of the culture of Soviet Ukraine, which represent the main content of the single multinational Soviet culture, are growing steadily.

In the field of politics Soviet Ukraine represents a sovereign socialist state within the whole nation, one of the 15 equal republics within the USSR,

which embodies the state unity of the Soviet people and rallies all nations and nationalities with a view to building communism jointly. The political status of the UkSSR, as that of the other republics, and its position and functions in the all-union political system, are defined in the USSR Constitution and the constitution of the UkSSR. As a structural indivisible component of the USSR, it exercises its state power independently in all matters of economic, social, political and cultural life with the exception of those under USSR jurisdiction.

The UkSSR makes extensive use of its constitutional rights in the field of foreign relations. It is a member of the United Nations and many other international organizations. It is a signatory to 132 international treaties and agreements and participates in the economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation between the USSR and foreign countries, above all the members of CEMA. It contributes to the intensification of socialist economic integration, the common struggle for international detente and peace and strengthening the security and defense capability of our homeland.

The main direction followed in the development of the political system of the UkSSR, as that of the entire country, is the further development of socialist democracy.

This democracy is based on the soviets of people's deputies. The elections to local soviets, which were held in June 1982, convincingly proved the true triumph of the principles of socialist democracy. In the UkSSR 99.99 percent of all voters participated in the election. A total of 525,500 deputies were elected, 72.5 percent of whom were workers and kolkhoz members, 43.8 percent CPSU members and candidate members, 21.1 percent Komsomol members, and 49.2 percent women. The deputies represent virtually all nationalities living in the republic. The role of the soviets is growing steadily. Their ties with the broad toiling masses are increasingly deepening and the publicity of their work is increasing. An increasing number of working people in town and country are drawn into direct participation in the administration of governmental and social affairs.

The trade unions, the Komsomol, people's control, and cooperative and other public organizations play a major role in the political system of Soviet society. In the UkSSR virtually all working people, more than 25 million, are members of the trade unions; more than 6.4 million are members of the republic's Komsomol organization. Millions of citizens are members of cooperative organizations and voluntary societies and associations. The labor collectives are of great importance. It is precisely within them that political and production problems are combined and the major political and economic concepts are translated into a practical language. Under socialist conditions the democratic principles are "extended," as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "to all realms of social life, including the basis--production relations." All this convincingly proves the scope and depth of socialist democracy.

The CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system and state and public organizations. The republic has a

tested and combat detachment of the CPSU--the Communist Party of the Ukraine. Today it numbers more than 3 million members. One out of every 10 working people is a party member. The republic's party organization has more than 68,000 primary organizations, approximately 67,000 shop organizations and 122,000 party groups. There are party organizations in virtually every labor collective. The Ukrainian Communist Party is steadily pursuing the Leninist course of comprehensive advancement of socialist democracy and ensuring the steady development of the republic's economy and culture.

Such great accomplishments are possible only within the union of fraternal republics, on the basis of a socialist system and under the guidance of the communist party. This is confirmed by historical experience.

The bright destinies of the Ukrainian people are inseparably related to the Great October Revolution and the founding of the USSR. The very existence of the Ukrainian SSR would have been impossible without the international unity and fraternal friendship among all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Following the Russian working class in taking the path of struggle for the victory of a Soviet system, and standing, along with all nations within Russia, under the red banner of the socialist revolution, the people of the Ukraine were among the pioneers of historical progress. Each step taken by Soviet Ukraine toward its present blossoming has been inseparable from the friendship and cooperation among the peoples of our country and the development of the USSR.

The Great October Socialist Revolution indicated the solution to the most complex problems which have faced the world in the 20th century. The victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd was a powerful incentive and a guideline in the revolutionary struggle waged by the Ukrainian people. Headed by Lenin, the Sovnarkom gave all-round support to the implementation of the age-old aspirations of the Ukrainian working people. Soviet Russia not only proclaimed the inviolability of the national rights of the Ukrainian people but became a reliable bulwark for their implementation.

Having proclaimed the creation of a free and sovereign Ukrainian socialist state, the first congress of soviets in our republic extended over its entire territory all decrees and orders of the government of Soviet Russia pertaining to land, control by the workers, and democratization of the army. The Leninist foreign policy course, expressed in the universally famous Decree on Peace, met with full support. Soviet Ukraine was proclaimed a federal part of the Russian republic. This was a manifestation of the inflexible will of the working class and all working people of the Ukraine to engage in closest possible cooperation with the great Russian people. Earmarking the means for establishing governmental relations between Russia and the Ukraine, the congress decreed to establish between them "total coordination in terms of objectives and actions, needed in order to support the interests of the workers and peasants of all nationalities within the Russian Federation" ("Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsiya na Ukraine" [The Great October Socialist Revolution in the Ukraine]. Collection of documents and materials. In three volumes, vol II, Kiev, 1957, p 575).



A unification movement became widespread in the Ukraine. Our republic became one of the initiators and active units in the military-political, economic and diplomatic alliance among Soviet republics in the consecutive stages of the struggle for the founding of the USSR. A way to the voluntary state unification among Soviet republics was laid through the revolutionary energy, will and daily heroic efforts of the party in the front and the rear, its daily life among the masses, the tremendous genius of Lenin, his consistent internationalism, his attentive and protective attitude toward progressive national traditions and characteristics, and infinite love and profound respect for the toiling masses of all nations and nationalities. The Russian working class was the leading force in the international unification of the peoples. The Russian Federation played a decisive role in the creation of a single union state.

The wave of unification in the Ukraine, as in the other Soviet republics, reached its peak in 1922. The date of 30 December has become part of universal history forever. Expressing the will of the working people of the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Transcaucasian Federation and the RSFSR, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets legislatively completed the unification of these republics within a single socialist state.

The creation of the USSR was the direct extension of the cause of the Great October Revolution and the living embodiment of Lenin's idea of a voluntary and equal alliance among free nations. It marked the beginning of the implementation of his brilliant prediction to the effect that socialism "creates new and higher forms of human community, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the toiling masses of all nationalities will be satisfied for the first time in a condition of international unity...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 26, p 40).

When the USSR was founded the Ukrainian economy presented a depressing picture. The imperialist and civil wars and foreign intervention had damaged it tremendously. The blast furnaces were inoperative and the mines were flooded. Railroad transportation was at a low point. In 1920 the Donbass produced less than 20 percent of its prewar coal output. The Ukrainian metallurgical plants were working at 5 percent of their prewar level. The bad 1920 harvest created hunger in the southern guberniyas in the republic. White Guard gangs were roaming the steppes and forests. Armed anti-Soviet detachments coming from the outside regularly crossed the border.

The brilliant Leninist plan for the restoration of the national economy, the infinite creative daring of the communists and the firm resolve of the workers and peasants of the entire country, not only to rebuild the economy dislocated by the war, but to start up the Dneproges, to make the Ukraine a reliable unit within the socialist industrialization system, to create large collective agricultural enterprises to replace the abandoned Ukrainian villages, to raise and disseminate the torch of the Stakhanovite movement and to ensure the universal literacy of the population and the unparalleled blossoming of Ukrainian culture were required.

Let us consider historical facts. In 1924-1925, when the dislocated Ukrainian national economy had to be restored, more than 60 percent of the Ukrainian budget expenditures were subsidized out of all-union funds. During the first five-year plans, when the republic was laying the foundations of a modern multisectorial industry, the Ukraine received aid from all parts of the country. Enterprise collectives in Moscow, Leningrad, Gorkiy, Bryansk and Minsk directly participated in building the Soviet industrial giant--the Kharkov tractors plant. Within a short time, through joint efforts, the machine plant in Novokramatorsk, the Zaporozhstal' and Azovstal' enterprises, famous the world over, and chemical enterprises were constructed. The building of Dneproges became a truly international construction project. The efforts of the Ukrainian working people were multiplied by leaning on reliable fraternal shoulders.

Let us recall the following fact as well: at the beginning of the 1930s the metallurgical plants in the Donbass and Pridneprov'ye were planning the building of their first blooming furnaces. American companies were asking 16 million gold rubles per furnace. At that point the collective of the Izhorsk machine-building plant manufactured the necessary equipment at a shock rate. This champion of Soviet blooming furnaces was installed at the Makeyevka metallurgical plant in 1931. Within a short period the people of Izhorsk built a second blooming furnace which was installed at the Metallurgical Plant imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy on the Dnepr.

While gratefully accepting such fraternal aid, in turn, the Ukrainian people generously shared the results of their toil and scientific and technical achievements. Several thousand Ukrainian workers participated in the construction of the Stalingrad Tractors Plant in 1929. The Ukrainian working people actively participated in the construction of the famous Rostsel'mash, the polymetallic combine in Leninogorsk, the Turksib, the mines in Karaganda, and textile factories in Tashkent and Ashkhabad.

The great Russian people played an outstanding role in the historical victories of our multinational homeland and in strengthening the friendship and cooperation among all nations and nationalities in the country. Their selfless international aid continues to be a part of each success achieved by all Soviet republics. The Ukrainian working people have seen this through personal experience. They will never forget that it was only thanks to the Russian people and all fraternal peoples in the USSR that their age-old dream has come true--the reunification of all age-old Ukrainian lands within a single Ukrainian Soviet socialist state.

The feeling of a united family and the power of Leninist friendship among the peoples were manifested with particular clarity during the stormy period of the Great Patriotic War, when the foundations of the new socialist system and the very viability of the first multinational socialist state in the world were subjected to most severe trials. Faced with mortal danger, the friendship among the peoples, born of the October Revolution, strengthened even further and broke out, as aptly described by M. I. Kalinin, in bright flames.

Members of all nations and nationalities in the country defended the socialist fatherland shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield fighting the fascist hordes. Many of them fell in the battles defending and subsequently liberating Soviet Ukraine from the Hitlerite invasion. The war caused terrible destruction in the Ukraine. Millions of Soviet people perished. Direct losses to the national economy totaled 285 billion rubles (in 1941 prices), or almost five times the amount spent in the Ukrainian SSR in building new state enterprises during the three prewar five-year plans combined. As always, however, the republic was not abandoned in its difficulty. The entire country participated in the restoration of the Ukrainian national economy. It was precisely thanks to the vivifying force of the fraternal comity of peoples that it was truly reborn. After healing the deep wound caused by the war, Soviet Ukraine advanced far ahead in the development of production forces and resolving all problems in building communism.

The great constructive power of the friendship and monolithic unity among all nations and nationalities rallied within the single multinational state played a decisive role in the establishment and development of Soviet Ukraine as it did in the other union republics. To this day it is to the Ukrainian people a powerful inexhaustible source of comprehensive progress the levels of which were defined at the 26th CPSU Congress.

"The party's course ...," stipulates the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR," "calls for the growth of the material and spiritual potential of each republic and its maximal utilization in the harmonious development of the entire country. The party considers this a necessary prerequisite for progress in Soviet society, strengthening the economic and defense power of the USSR and improving the well-being of the working people."

In accordance with the party's economic strategy, during the 11th Five-Year Plan and throughout the 1980s the economy of the UkSSR will develop dynamically within the unified national economic complex of the country. During the 5-year period the national income, which reflects the level reached and dynamics of public production, will increase by 19.6 percent; its absolute growth will equal 15.5 billion rubles as compared to 12.1 billion during the past five-year plan.

The further development of industry is planned. Its volume of output will be increased by 23 percent. Particular attention is being paid to the base sectors, the fuel-energy complex above all. The intensive development of nuclear energy is planned. This will account for the main increase in the generation of electric power and will save 60 million tons of organic fuel. Power and chemical machine building, machine tool and instrument manufacturing, and the production of machines for animal husbandry and feed production and means of automation and computers will be developed at a priority pace.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan a major step will be taken in the implementation of the Food Program, which was approved at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It calls for ensuring the proportional and balanced

development of all sectors within the agroindustrial complex, directing the production process toward high end results, achieving a stable growth of agricultural production on the basis of crop growing and animal husbandry intensification, fuller use of the available production potential and reducing losses and upgrading the quality of output.

Huge resources are being allocated for the solution of the problems formulated in the program. Suffice it to say that between 1981 and 1990 the agroindustrial complex sectors will receive 591,000 tractors, 138,000 grain-harvesting combines, 550,000 trucks and other equipment. Within that period the use of chemical fertilizers will be increased by a factor of 1.5. No less than 1 million hectares of irrigated and 1.3 million of drained land will be commissioned. As a result, by the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan the total reclaimed land will reach 6.3 million hectares. The construction of new enterprises is planned for the food industrial sectors, and grain, vegetable and fruit storage facilities in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and the trade network.

The development of the material and technical base of the agroindustrial complex and the improved working and living conditions of the rural population will largely contribute to the further increase in the production of agricultural commodities. During the 11th Five-Year Plan the average annual volume of gross agricultural output will increase by 12 percent; the average annual production of grain will reach 51-52 million tons; of meat, 3.9 and 4.1 million and of milk 22.5-23 million tons. The implementation of the Food Program will raise the entire national economy to new heights.

Increasing the role of the intensive factors and public production efficiency and the faster increase of end results compared with outlays are the characteristic features of the 11th Five-Year Plan. This course has been reflected in the plan indicators.

The republic will increase social labor productivity by 19 percent, which will account for 96 percent of the growth of the national income as compared with 90 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan. This will save the labor of about 3.7 million workers per year. A total of 27 million tons of fuel and considerable quantities of raw and other materials will be saved by improving the quality of output, advancing the state of the equipment and production technology and ensuring the more efficient utilization of resources. Conservation will enable us to lower production material intensiveness and to ensure faster growth rates of the national income compared with the growth of the gross national product. This is particularly important if we bear in mind that the republic's economy is restrained by several factors, particularly a reduction in the growth of manpower resources, higher outlays for maintaining the production level reached in the extracting sectors and some difficulties in the development of agriculture.

The accelerated pace of scientific and technical progress has been assigned a decisive role in implementing the course of all-round increased efficiency and quality. Prime significance is ascribed to upgrading the efficiency of scientific and design work, and to reducing the time for the practical

utilization of scientific and technical achievements. A total of 8,400 shops, sectors, and production lines will be comprehensively mechanized and automated and 11,000 mechanized assembly and automated lines will be installed between 1981 and 1985. The application of new and the expansion of the scale of use of existing progressive technologies and the higher level of mechanization and automation of production processes will enable us to save more than 3 billion rubles as a result of the lowered cost of industrial output.

Let us note that the republic has completed the conversion from planning and implementation of individual measures to the elaboration and implementation of comprehensive target programs.

Six most important comprehensive scientific and technical programs have been drafted and are being implemented by the republic during the 11th Five-Year Plan. "Energy Complex," "Metal," "Material Intensiveness," "Agricultural Complex," "Sugar," and "Labor." A total of 140 sectorial and 100 regional programs have been approved for the solution of major scientific and technical problems. As a result of their implementation, over a 5-year period 155 new types of machines, equipment and instruments, about 100 types of materials and more than 300 progressive technologies on different levels will be created. The implementation of sectorial programs for reducing the use of manual labor will enable us to convert to mechanized labor more than 1 million workers. The scientific research organizations, associations and enterprises in the republic are also actively participating in the implementation of 160 union programs.

The most important feature of the 11th Five-Year Plan is the increased social emphasis in the development of public production and its greater concentration on ensuring the people's well-being further. The consumption fund, as part of the national income used directly to satisfy the needs of the people, will increase faster than the accumulations fund. The plan calls for a faster increase in the production of consumer goods compared with that of capital goods. Light industry output will increase by 18.5 percent and the production of cultural and domestic items by a factor of 1.4.

Over 5 years real per capita income in the UkSSR will increase by 17 percent. Social consumption funds will increase by 24 percent and will total 25.9 billion rubles. Housing will be built totaling 80.7 million square meters. This will make it possible to improve the housing conditions of about 7 million people. The volume of housing construction in the countryside will increase substantially. Housing totaling about 42.6 million square meters will be built in kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural organizations; 5,800 kilometers of water mains and 6,200 kilometers of gas mains will be laid; 15,800 kilometers of public use automotive roads and 30,400 kilometers of intrafarm paved roads will be built between 1981 and 1990. Cultural, communal, residential, medical and transport population services will be improved considerably. The implementation of the planned social program will contribute to the good and happiness of the Soviet people.

It is important to emphasize that each step taken in the further economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR is the result of the joint labor efforts and common success of all fraternal republics. Millions of arteries link the Ukraine with the other union republics within the single national economic complex of the country. Modern machines, machine tools and equipment manufactured in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Minsk, Novosibirsk and Tashkent and hundreds of other cities in our great homeland are operating at enterprises, construction projects, fields, and livestock farms of the UkSSR. Strong economic ties, comradely mutual aid and creative cooperation unite the metallurgical workers of Pridneprov'ye, Kazakhstan and the Urals, miners of the Donbass and Kuzbass and the pipe layers of Leningrad and Kharkov.

The further development of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, the construction of the BAM, the development of the petroleum deposits of Tyumen, the building of the Rovno nuclear power plant and the digging of the Dnepr-Donbass Canal--a project shared by all sister republics--is the profound concern of the working people of the Ukraine as it is for all Soviet people.

A clear manifestation of the continually strengthening friendship and fraternity among Soviet people, united by a common objective, is the extensive scope of the interrepublic socialist competition and the exchange of progressive experience.

The vital sources of friendship and comprehensive relations among nations generously feed not only the material but the spiritual forces of the Soviet peoples. The culture of the Soviet people, whose tremendous experience in spiritual creativity is the priceless possession of all Soviet people, plays a permanent role in the beneficial process of reciprocal enrichment and rapprochement among national cultures. It is precisely on the basis of the best examples of Russian literature and art that the original culture of each nation in our country developed. The reciprocal enrichment among Soviet cultures follows a number of channels, such as publishing the works of writers in fraternal republics, joint staging of shows and production of motion pictures, celebration of traditional literature and art days, exchange of theater and concert groups, and many others. Efforts in this area have become particularly energized on the eve of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The broadening of economic relations among union republics, exchange of production experience and the achievements in science, literature and the arts, socialist competition, joint efforts in building the largest national economic projects, as well as other components in the process of internationalization of all social life, are leading to the further rapprochement among socialist nations. Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, high awareness of social duty, collectivism and mutual aid and intolerance of national and racial prejudices mark the general condition which determines the social aspirations of all nations and nationalities in our socialist homeland. All of these qualities come together in the development of the features of a socialist character shared by all the peoples of the USSR, the proud feeling of belonging to the united Soviet fatherland and the involvement of one and all in the great cause of building a new society.

The social experience of the Ukrainian people convincingly proves Lenin's brilliant prediction to the effect that "by organizing production without class oppression and ensuring the well-being of all members of the state socialism provides full scope for the display of the "sympathy" of the population and it is precisely this that facilitates and gigantically accelerates the rapprochement and merger among nations" (op. cit., vol 30, p 21).

All of these progressive processes are the result of the scientifically substantiated social and national policy of the CPSU, which profoundly reveals the objective laws governing the development of the mature socialist society on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology.

Like the rest of the country, Soviet Ukraine is welcoming the outstanding anniversary of the USSR with shock labor. The entire organizational and mass-political work of the party, state, planning and economic organs and trade union and Komsomol organizations is aimed at the implementation of the decrees of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the ideas and conclusions contained in the speech delivered at the plenum by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and the solution of the economic-political problems specifically embodied in the state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR and the USSR state budget for 1983. The Ukrainian working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia fully approve and actively support the domestic and foreign policy of the communist party, rallying their ranks even more closely around the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, brimming with the will and desire to increase their contribution to the implementation of the plans for building communism, the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan, strengthening the economic and defense power of our socialist homeland and preserving and consolidating peace.

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## NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPLEX AND RELATIONS AMONG NATIONALITIES

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[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Medvedev]

[Text] The national policy of the CPSU has always proceeded from the acknowledgement of the most important role of material production in the development of internationality relations. The radical changes which have taken place in material production were the economic foundation for the shaping of the socialist nations and the process of their comprehensive development and rapprochement which brought about the founding of the Soviet people as a single social and international community of people.

Under contemporary conditions, the main trends in the development of national relations, as in the case of all the other types of social relations, are related to improving the single national economic complex developed in our country and the economic system of developed socialism as a whole. These are the foundations of the entire comprehensive process of the growth of socialism into communism.

What does the single national economic complex of developed socialism represent?

It represents a contemporary system for production, turnover and utilization of the public product. It is represented mainly by large-scale socialist production, which is based on the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and is characterized by an organizational-technical and socio-economic integrity, complex vertical and horizontal structures and a planned organization aimed at satisfying the growing needs of society.

In his time, V. I. Lenin compared socialist production to a single factory in which dozens of millions of people worked, obeying a single discipline and labor norm, operating like a well-tuned clock mechanism. Today, under the conditions of developed socialism and the scientific and technical revolution, this prediction is acquiring a real material content. The single national economic complex is indeed a most complex system, the functioning of which demands, on the one hand, ideal efficiency and organization and, on the other, the creation of the necessary material and technical prerequisites.



# I

The single national economic complex was developed within the framework of the multinational socialist state despite the gigantic variety of local conditions and starting levels of economic, social and cultural development, social relations, and ways of life and human mentalities. The task of surmounting the historically inherited lagging of the national outlying areas and equalizing the levels of economic development of the Soviet republics was resolved in the course of the development of contemporary production forces.

National aspects and the interest of eliminating as rapidly as possible the actual inequality among nations and nationalities in the country assumed an important role in the system of economic construction targets. It was a question of laying a solid economic base for the type of alliance among nations which, as V. I. Lenin wrote, "would be based on total trust, clear awareness of fraternal unity and entirely voluntary agreement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 43). Such an alliance, as conceived by Lenin, could not be achieved immediately. "One should work up to it displaying the greatest possible patience and caution in order not to spoil matters or trigger mistrust and in order to allow the elimination of the mistrust remaining after centuries of oppression by landowners and capitalists and private property, as well as hostility caused by its divisions and redivisions" (ibid.).

On the basis of this objective, in accordance with the Leninist principle of the primacy of the political approach in resolving economic problems, the party and the Soviet state charted a firm course of accelerated socioeconomic development of national outlying areas and organized the comprehensive and selfless aid to their peoples in economic and cultural construction and the socialist reorganization of social relations with the most developed centers in the country. During the first five-year plan substantial capital investments were made in the development of industry in the republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. The course of accelerated industrialization of national republics was manifested in the faster growth rates of industry in these republics. During the first five-year plan their volume of output increased by a factor of 3.5 compared with 2 in the old industrial areas. "Such aid," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "and the readiness to invest tremendous efforts and, let us openly state, sacrifices for the sake of surmounting the backwardness of the national outlying areas and ensuring their accelerated development were bequeathed to the Russian proletariat by Lenin as its high international duty. The Russian working class, the Russian people, fulfilled this obligation honorably. Essentially, this was a great exploit of an entire class, an entire nation, performed for the sake of internationalism."

Naturally, the funds appropriated for the development of the economy of the national outlying areas could have yielded in their time more immediate economic benefits. However, such temporary results cannot be matched against the general political result--the transformation of our multinational country into a modern highly developed state marching in the vanguard of human progress. Economically as well, on the basis of a broader historical scale, the course of surmounting the lagging of the national outlying areas proved to be

exceptionally effective. It made it possible to develop a powerful socialist economy capable of resolving even the most difficult and large problems.

This is a manifestation of the profound internal unity between the economic and the national policy of the party, dictated by its aim which is the building and strengthening of socialism in our country and serving the interests of the working people.

The Soviet Union became a model in resolving the national problem in the economic area and proved to the oppressed peoples of the world the prospects offered by socialism and an alliance with the working class holding the political power. The imperialistic practice of political and economic enslavement of nations, the preservation of backward socioeconomic structures, reliance on the feudal bourgeois-bureaucratic local reaction, shameless plunder of natural resources and development of one-sided economic structures were pitted most fully and clearly against the example of truly internationalist relations among nations and selfless fraternal mutual aid.

The approach itself to surmounting the actual economic inequality and the conversion of the national outlying areas into developed republics with high standards and contemporary forms of human activity is of basic significance. It was manifested in the Leninist idea of bringing nations and peoples within a single union, the unification and total coordination of their entire resources and jointly controlled production, distribution and utilization of the public product. "... Like the instinct and awareness of internationalism and democracy," Lenin pointed out, "economic considerations demand the fastest possible rapprochement and merger among all nations within a socialist society" (op. cit., vol 30, p 121).

From the very beginning the national economic organism of the country developed as a single entity in which the economies of the union republics act as organic components of the overall system rather than as the sum total of economic autarchies. Relations among republics and regions within the single national economic complex are relations within a single economy and a single treasury, with a single distribution criterion, rather than sporadic aid given by some republics to others and a partial redistribution of resources among them with the preservation of their economic autonomy.

In principle, another variant in the economic development of republics and rayons within a multinational state is possible, essentially relying on one's own forces and receiving limited aid on the part of the more developed republics and the state as a whole. In such a case essential national differences in economic and social relations remain for a considerably longer period of time and, therefore, so does the ground for nationalistic manifestations, political instability, and so on. Our country chose a different way. In the Soviet Union the actual economic equality among republics was achieved precisely within the framework and during the process of the creation of a single national economic complex.

What does the actual and economic equality of Soviet republics mean? It does not mean any equalization whatsoever, identical economy or equal development of industry with all its sectors, and so on.

It means first of all the existence within each one of them of modern large-scale output, a developed production and social infrastructure, and skilled cadres of workers, agricultural mechanizers, engineering and technical personnel and other specialists.

It also means the elimination of disparities in general economic indicators such as productivity and the power- and capital-labor ratios.

Finally, it means the equalizing of indicators of the population's material and social well-being.

National traditions, skills and the production experience of the people acquired in the course of centuries are preserved not only in the way of life of the working people and in their culture but in the economy as well; the republic national-climatic characteristics and other factors are taken into consideration.

Each republic has a developed modern economy while preserving its unique features and making its specific contribution to the socioeconomic development of the country.

Suffice it to look at the present features of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. Thus, from a previously backward area of tsarist Russia, frozen on the level of precapitalist relations, Kazakhstan is today one of the blossoming and dynamically developing republics. During the past 20 years alone its volume of industrial output has increased by a factor of 4.3; electric power production increased by a factor of almost 6; the production of the machine-building and metal processing industries--7.8; and the chemical and petrochemical industry--9.6.

It is noteworthy that Kazakhstan, which before the revolution had not even one major industrial enterprise, has become one of the largest metallurgical centers in the country. Steel, pig iron and rolled metal from Kazakhstan's Magnitka, ferroalloys from Yermak and Aktyubinsk and manganese and chromite ores are being shipped to all parts of the Soviet Union. Today Kazakhstan is a most important center for the extraction and production of nonferrous and rare metals. The considerable progress achieved in metallurgy contributed to the upsurge of the republic's machine-building and metal-processing industries, the output of which is familiar not only to the USSR but to more than 80 foreign countries.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture and the development of dozens of millions of hectares of virgin land transformed Kazakhstan into a powerful agricultural area, which is playing a tremendous and ever-increasing role in supplying the country with grain and animal husbandry products.

Kazakhstan has skilled multinational cadres working in all realms of life and types of activity and a highly developed culture.

Under the Soviet system outstanding successes were achieved by the Baltic republics in their economic development. Thanks to the creative toil of

workers, peasants and intellectuals, and the selfless aid provided by all the fraternal peoples to Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia which, under the bourgeois system, were the backyard of Europe and were economically stagnating, they have become highly developed industrial-agrarian republics with a most modern production, scientific and technical and cultural potential. Compared to 1940, for example, Latvia's national income has increased by a factor of 10.5; industrial output has increased by a factor of 46, whereas in 20 years of bourgeois dictatorship the 1913 level had been barely reached. Sectors determining technical progress and the efficiency of the entire national economy are developing in the republic at a faster pace--machine building and metal processing--including the electrical engineering and electronic sectors, the chemical and petrochemical industries, and the electric power industry. The kolkhoz system provided extensive opportunities for the fast development of production forces and ensuring high-level prosperity to the countryside. The achievements of the working people in Lithuania and Estonia are just as impressive.

The elimination of the existing economic inequality among republics within the confines of a single national economic complex makes it possible to equalize the pace of economic growth. This is confirmed by the following data. Between 1940 and 1965 the volume of industrial output in the country at large increased by a factor of 7.9. This indicator ranged from a factor of 4 to 18 for the individual republics. It was 12 for Kazakhstan and Armenia, 10 for Kirghizia, 16 for Moldavia, 17 for Latvia, and 18 for Lithuania and Estonia.

We see a different picture for the period between 1965 and 1980. Whereas the volume of industrial output in the country at large increased by a factor of 2.7, it fluctuated within the individual republics between 2.6 and 4.2.

Unquestionably, this rapprochement among the growth rates of industrial output is no accident. It reflects the fact that the elimination of the historically created lagging in the various national parts of the country has been essentially eliminated and there is no longer a need for drastically exceeding the average union growth rates.

Naturally, certain differences in industrial development rates are inevitable to this day. However, they are due to different reasons: better utilization of manpower and natural resources, eliminating bottlenecks in the country's national economy and rationalization in the deployment of production forces.

It is precisely on the basis of this general economic and statewide viewpoint, i.e., from the positions of upgrading the efficiency of the single national economic complex as a whole, that all specific problems related to production development in the individual republics can and must be resolved today. "Now, when the task of equalizing the levels of economic development of national republics has been essentially resolved," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "we have the opportunity to approach economic problems above all from the viewpoint of national interests and to upgrade the efficiency of the entire Soviet national economy, naturally bearing in mind the specific interests of union and autonomous republics."

## II

The results achieved in resolving the national problem, including the area of economics, are great and impressive. The single national economic complex indeed provides a firm economic base for unity in the multinational Soviet society and the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR. However, while giving accomplishments their due, our party calls for a close study of further development trends and the solution of real problems which arise in this connection, including that of regulating relations among nations.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR" speaks of the "increasing internationalization of economic and all social life...." It is based on the development of the single national economic complex. The increased level of production concentration and specialization strengthen economic relations within the national economy, including relations among republics, krais and oblasts, involving their economies within this complex ever more profoundly and closely.

The scale of economic relations among Soviet republics is expanding with every passing year and is acquiring an increasingly comprehensive and profound nature. Thus, based on intersectorial balance data, 100 sectors in all union republics ship goods to the Georgian SSR and 82 sectors in these republics receive goods produced in Georgia. The Ukrainian SSR supplies other republics with coal, pig iron, rolled metal, iron and manganese ore, diesel locomotives, motor vehicles, machine-tool, metallurgical and electrical engineering equipment, sugar, vegetables, fruits, and consumer goods. In turn, the Ukraine imports petroleum and petroleum products, nonferrous metals, apatite, power and machine-building equipment, timber, fabrics, paper, cotton and fish. The working people of all republics participate in the industrial and agricultural goods produced by the Ukrainian SSR.

Most important projects are also built through joint efforts. For example, 820 enterprises from 12 union republics participated in the construction of the Kremenchug GES in the Ukraine, including members of 41 nationalities. Three hundred enterprises from 11 republics participated in the construction of the Karaganda metallurgical plant in Kazakhstan and 2,200 enterprises from all republics took part in the construction of the Bratsk GES.

The picture of the economic interaction among republics becomes even more complex if we consider it on the level of individual enterprises. Thus, the automotive plant in Minsk ships its products to nearly 7,000 customers, mostly outside the republic. Meanwhile, its suppliers include 1,100 enterprises from throughout the country. For example, engines and tires come from Yaroslavl, metal from the Urals, coal from the Ukraine and timber from Karelia.

Under these circumstances the prompt and qualitative implementation of obligations involving interrepublic and interregional deliveries and the elimination of even the slightest manifestations of a parochial approach to the solution of such problems become increasingly important.

The single national economic complex is distinguished by its dynamism, which allows it to resolve major national economic problems within a short time through the redistribution of assets in the national economy and their concentration on decisive sectors. In the past as well, the entire country took part in the construction of Dneproges, Magnitka, Turksib and the Ural-Kuzbass and in the development of the virgin lands. Today the joint efforts of the peoples of the USSR are focused on the implementation of major programs such as developing the natural resources of Siberia, the construction of the BAM and the development of its entire zone and the upsurge of the Nonchernozem which, by virtue of a number of reasons, has found itself in more difficult conditions than the other parts of the country.

The requirements of dynamic growth must be consistent with both the material factors of the unified national economic complex as well as the manpower itself. However, whereas the relocation of material resources and equipment to other areas is a purely economic problem, the transfer of manpower affects sensitive social and national factors as well.

The relations of profound reciprocal understanding and fraternal friendship which exist among the nations and nationalities in our country and respect for and attention paid to national human characteristics contribute to the intensified mobility of the population and the manpower and their migration among republics. This is clearly confirmed by data on the increased share of individuals of non-native nationalities among the populations of union and autonomous republics and the number and percentage of marriages between members of different nationalities. Most production, scientific and creative collectives in all republics have become multinational.

The objective requirements governing the development of the single national economic complex require the further intensification of progressive trends in this area. It is a question, in particular, of a problem such as involving in public production surplus manpower which may be found in many parts of the country. Obviously, we must become more energetic in our efforts to surmount conservative habits and family traditions which hinder the increased enrollment of young people in vocational technical schools, technicums and technical VUZs, for purposes of subsequent employment in the industry of their own republic and other parts of the country.

Another important problem in this connection is the creation of better conditions for retaining at the largest national economic projects young people of different nationalities recruited for work in the rapidly developing economic rayons. As studies of the collectives of BAM construction workers indicated, young people from a number of republics find it more difficult to accustom themselves to such work. We believe that this is a question less of the climate than considerations related to the characteristics of such young people and, naturally, their upbringing.

### III

The unified national economic complex exerts a determining influence on the development of contacts among nations through the entire system of socialist

production relations. The very depth of the essence of these relations and their nature are predetermined by the social or, in more precise and specific terms, the national ownership of productive capital. It is precisely the joint ownership of productive capital by people associated on the scale of the entire society that is consistent with the extent of the social nature of the production process embodied in the unified national economic complex.

The equal attitude of the working people toward productive capital and equal access to work, regardless of the citizen's affiliation with one national or administrative unit or another, or the location of material production factors is an important economic characteristic of the Soviet people as a new historical community.

The fact that the production process is subordinated to the interests of meeting social requirements creates a common material incentive, i.e., it makes the people interested in production results and efficiency in all economic sectors and all republics, krais, oblasts, cities, rayons and collectives. This is one of the facets of the direct social nature of socialist production.

In terms of the development of relations among nations and international education, let us particularly note the attitude toward national ownership of national and other resources. They are the property of the entire Soviet people and are jointly used by them for the sake of the common good. No problems could or should arise on the basis of the use of natural resources among republics, oblasts or other regions.

Naturally, this is not to say that natural resources should not be given an economic assessment. On the contrary, such an assessment is quite important, for without it no effective economic management would be possible. Gradually, the economic assessment of natural resources and payments for them are becoming economic practice and the faster we accomplish this the better. However, both assessments and payments for natural resources express relations of nationwide ownership. They are tools for the better utilization of the national property by one collective or another and a method for equalizing economic management conditions among collectives working in different parts of the country.

Our printed and oral propaganda frequently uses a statement which is turning into a journalistic cliché: "Thus-and-such a people or republic shares generously, with its heart, the riches of its subsoil with the other peoples in our country." From the journalistic viewpoint this method may be justified and is no major sin. However, from scientific and economic positions this, strictly speaking, is groundless.

We have a single economy, the foundation of which is the nationwide ownership of productive capital, including natural resources.

The achievement of actual economic equality among nations and nationalities within the limits of the single national economic complex and the domination of a single type of production relations based on public ownership determine

the common socioclass structure within the country at large and in the individual republics through its further development toward a classless society and, subsequently, its total social homogeneity.

Tremendous progress has been achieved in this area. However, there are problems as well, related mainly to the development of a working class and an engineering-technical intelligentsia among the native population.

Relations of distribution of the public product, particularly the share of the product used to meet the needs of the working people as public and individual consumption funds, allocated according to labor, are an important component of the socioeconomic shape of the unified economic complex. Such relations have a profound and very substantial influence on relations among nations.

It is precisely through the social consumption funds that the working people throughout the country are ensured equal access to social benefits such as education, medical services, social insurance, protection of motherhood and childhood, housing, and others. This requires a gigantic scale of socio-cultural construction, particularly in the former ethnic outlying areas.

Data on changed educational standards are characteristic in this respect. In 1939 123 people per 1,000 employed in the national economy had higher and secondary (full and partial) training; in the individual republics the figure fluctuated from 45 (Tajikistan) to 163 (Georgia). By 1959 the average union indicator had risen to 433 and deviations from it ranged between 250 (Lithuania, which took the path of socialist construction later) to 527 (Armenian). Finally, at the beginning of 1982 there were 846 people with higher and secondary (full and partial) training per 1,000 employed population; in terms of union republics the indicator ranged from 771 to 888, i.e., it had come closer to the average unionwide level.

Naturally, there is no absolute equality in the level of availability of social goods among all republics and, in all probability, this would be impossible to achieve. Difference may be caused by both objective (national customs and traditions, population demographic structure, etc.) and subjective factors (insufficient attention paid to one social problem or another in a given republic or, conversely, their anticipation). Such situations must be carefully analyzed by republic and union organs and adequate measures must be taken.

The systematic application of a single measure of labor and consumption on the scale of the entire national economy is of essential importance in the allocation of the individual consumption fund. Labor, considered in its direct social form, is the general and unified criterion governing the distribution of the individual consumption fund. In a number of cases the quantity and, particularly, the quality of labor can be determined most accurately through the end result--output--and its consistency with social requirements. In this case, however, we must take into consideration the influence on end results of the work of an individual, an entire collective and even an entire area, including an ethnic region, and objective production



factors, including natural resources. The latter are common property, for which reason the result of their application must be credited to society as a whole.

The principle of equal payment for equal labor is one of the main foundations of the entire social relations system under socialism, including relations among nations. Its implementation, combined with the comprehensive development of the national economy of the union republics and the creation within them of modern industrial sectors, highly mechanized large-scale agriculture and skilled cadres of workers, kolkhoz members and specialists has ensured the equalization of average wages and kolkhoz income.

In this area priority is given to problems related to the most precise assessment of the contribution made by the individual worker to public production and to establishing the closest possible connection between earnings and the actual results needed by society as well as the consistent elimination of equalization and groundless payments for unconscientious work and for simply marking time on the job.

This is related to the struggle against phenomena conflicting with socialism such as avoidance of socially useful labor, use of public property such as, for example, more favorable natural conditions, for the extraction of unearned income, black marketeering, bribery and nepotism, including the use of economic means and the distribution mechanism. In a number of cases such negative phenomena are closely interwoven with patriarchal traditions and harmful vestiges from the past.

The systematic implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor is of tremendous importance in the development and consolidation of relations among nations. Parasites and thieves may be found in our international community. It is no accident that our public is welcoming the decisive struggle against such negative phenomena, waged in a number of republics, with great interest, understanding and approval.

#### IV

The unified national economic complex creates specific requirements facing the entire management system, its organizational structure in particular. The exceptional importance of combining sectorial with territorial production management has become universally acknowledged.

The rights of republic and local organs in economic management, including sectors under union jurisdiction, have been broadened in recent years. The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium has set up a commission on problems of the development of the West Siberian Petroleum and Gas Complex, as well as an interdepartmental commission under the USSR Gosplan with Tyumen as home base. Proposals have been formulated on the creation of planning organs for the other major economic rayons. However, these are no more than initial steps.

Meanwhile, the incomplete nature of the system of territorial management of the single national economic complex adversely affects production concentration

and specialization and the organization of economic relations. It creates inefficient freight flows, including cross-purpose runs. Ministries and departments do not always take into consideration the availability of manpower resources or show the necessary attention to the creation of normal housing and sociocultural conditions for the working people, as a result of which new enterprises sometimes do not operate at full capacity.

Naturally, the territorial management of the single national economic complex must be based on its objectively established territorial structure, which is represented by a system of large economic rayons. At the same time, it must be combined with the national-state structure. A base for such combination exists, for the process of the development of nations took place under the determining influence of the common features of economic life.

However, the boundaries of union republics do not coincide with those of economic rayons. The Russian Federation includes a number of economic rayons. On the other hand, major economic rayons such as the Baltic area, the Transcaucasus and Central Asia are spread over the territory of several republics. Their common economic life is based on natural-climatic, transportation-geographic and other factors. In Central Asia, for example, this involves the need for a common management of water sources for irrigation.

While taking the national-state structure into consideration, the territorial management system must proceed above all from the extent of close economic ties and the interest of upgrading public production efficiency as a whole.

The boundaries of republics, krays and oblasts should not be obstacles to the organization of production complexes or production and scientific-production associations if such are dictated by economic expediency.

"Centralized planning combined with extensive initiative on the part of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs," stipulates the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR," "enables us to ensure the balanced and efficient development of the Soviet economy." The decree also emphasizes the need to resolve all economic and social problems above all on the basis of nationwide positions and to struggle against all manifestations of parochialism and departmentalism. This requirement marks a truly party, internationalist approach to the matter.

In this connection we should refer to the initiative of the working people in a number of enterprises in Frunze, who started a movement under the slogan "All Deliveries to Fraternal Republics on Time and of Excellent Quality!" Generally speaking, in a planned and efficiently operating economy all deliveries, regardless of their destination--abroad, another republic or a neighboring enterprise--must be met promptly and qualitatively. Unfortunately, because of production shortages, here and there the trend develops to ship goods above all to local consumers. The meaning and significance of the Frunze initiative are found precisely in their counteraction to such parochial practices.

The reciprocal enrichment through progressive experience in planning, management, organization of the socialist competition, and so on, is a major prerequisite for upgrading the efficiency of the functioning of the single national economic complex. The May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum rated highly the experience in efficient management of agroindustrial associations acquired by a number of rayons in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia and Estonia. In its time, the Lvov comprehensive system for production quality management and the experience in collective forms of labor organization, which developed in Moscow and Leningrad and, subsequently, in many other cities and republics, met with widespread recognition. Progressive experience, which develops in each republic and part of the country, is our common property which must assume a suitable position within each cell of the single national economic complex. In his speech at the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, pointed out that "we can cite a number of examples of creative work and of a truly economical attitude toward the people's good. Unfortunately, however, such experience is not being disseminated adequately, although frequently this requires no particular outlays. Therefore, what we are short of is something else--initiative and a decisive struggle against negligence and waste." The time has obviously come to raise the question of progressive innovations, which are not properly disseminated, in terms of a variety of economic losses. Such losses could be quite tangible in terms of the single national economic organism and the factors governing its functioning.

The economy is the decisive realm of social life and the main battlefield in the struggle for communism. This fully applies to relations among nations, to the process of comprehensive blossoming and rapprochement among nations which is an important and major feature in building communism.

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## RAYS OF A COMMON SUNRISE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 56-67

[Article by M. Effendiyev]

[Text] Fatherland, you were blessed by fate, protected by the blood of our sons, you are great and beautiful.

This is not only because of the infinitely broad steppes, made purple by the rising day, or the big wide rivers which tirelessly gather the secret power of cold springs. This is not only because of the age-old areas of resinous, quiet and poetic forests, the blueness of transparent lakes or the soft colors of the foggy valleys or the powerful mountain ridges rising above the clouds.

You also have a huge and infinitely open--both stern and tender--heart, a spiritual-moral power, a sacrificial dedication frequently burned by mortal fire in decisive class battles in the age of the inflexible dynamic people, the people-fighter for the freedom and happiness of the working people the world over and the noble scope of revolutionary-innovative creativity of nations which have indeed been resuscitated.

As it asserts the great humanistic ideals and as it proceeds in its unparalleled ascent toward the peaks of social progress, the homeland of Leninism, where the deprived and oppressed town and country strata, led by the working class, took over the management of the state for the first time in history, is courageously opening a path for mankind through storms and tempests, following virgin tracks to a bright future. A tremendous industrial potential, a scientific and cultural upsurge which strikes the imagination, and the invincible defensive shield, which guarantees the freedom and independence of the working people, have earned our union of sovereign republics universal recognition and tremendous international prestige. Our outstanding accomplishments inspire all fighters for a just reorganization of the world to perform exploits.

That is why, looking back from today's heights, at our difficult and twisting road of struggle and accomplishments, which was crowned by the creation of a developed socialist society, and interpreting the basic and irreversible changes in the political and socioeconomic structure of our time, which took place under the deep influence of the ideas of the October Revolution, in which the features of the future global fraternity among nations is already

visible, a future of which Lenin dreamed so passionately, is the reason for which we, the Soviet people, the single international community of builders of communism, and the pioneers of an essentially new socialist way of life, experience the lofty feelings of patriotic pride, revolutionary optimism and inflexible faith in the cause of the working class!

1

Occasionally one tends to consider with renewed awareness this amazing phenomenon of inviolable endurance, active constructive efficiency and internal dynamic unity in such a national mosaic and ethnic variety of the land of the soviets. This is a country which encompasses the destinies of dozens of nations and nationalities distinguished by historically developed unique and original characteristics.

In order to understand the real origins and the deep functional "mechanism" of such a phenomenon it is important, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience in resolving the national problem in the USSR, to interpret the nature of interrelationships among national relations in terms of class relations and to see behind the dialectics of the common and the international the dialectics of what is specific and national, embodied in the policy pursued by Lenin's party throughout all the stages of building socialism and communism.

The roots of the division of society into classes and of mankind into socio-ethnic groups vary. However, like classes and nations, as objectively developed forms of community life, the individuals bear the marks of specific conditions of material life, as a result of which national relations, although holding a special place in the system of social relations, are not some kind of absolutely independent and separate factor closely interwoven with them.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the belief, confirmed by all contemporary social practice, that relations among nations are based on their social nature or, in other words, on the production method--capitalist or socialist--which is the base of their economic system and the type of class--bourgeoisie or proletariat--that heads the nation and guides its development. For this reason, it looks for the origin of international dispute not in ethnic or other differences among nations but in the socioclass essence of the bourgeois system. That is why it considers as the key to the elimination of national inequality and quarrels the elimination of the old society on the basis of which such misfortunes, so natural in its case as is the exploitation of man by man arise. "Together with the antagonism among classes within nations," the "Communist Party Manifesto" predicted, "hostile relations among nations will be eliminated as well" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 445).

The implementation of the universal-historical mission of the proletariat, an inseparable part of which is the assertion of a new type of relations among peoples, largely depends on the proper correlation in the struggle between class and national interests.

The interests inherent in each class are determined by the position which this class occupies in public production. They are objective components of its activities and express its vital needs. Once realized, they shape the world outlook and direct the policy of the specific class. According to Lenin, class interest motivates the proletariat to consider the reasons for its situation and to rally and struggle. It provides an impulse for active efforts. "Marxism judges 'interests'," Lenin wrote, "on the basis of the class contradictions and class struggle which are manifested in millions of facts of daily life" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 233).

The creators of scientific communism frequently pointed out the inadmissibility of separating class-proletarian interests from national interests, something which inevitably leads to the separation among the workers of different nationalities. They constantly emphasized the community of interests of the proletariat and the incompatibility between such interests and the interests of the national and international bourgeoisie. The unity of efforts among the national proletarian detachments is the main prerequisite for their victory. Hence the battle cry of the communists "workers of the world, unite!" Hence also proletarian internationalism as the basic principle in communist ideology.

Conversely, the bourgeois and opportunistic-reformist ideologues, in their efforts to suppress, to crush the polarization of interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and to prevent the working people from realizing the irreconcilability between conflicting classes give one way or another priority to the "antagonism" between races and nations, promoting the "eternal and inevitable clash among mental currents," allegedly resting on national grounds. Wishing to replace the class struggle waged by the proletariat with a struggle against "foreign" nations, they call upon the exploited to cooperate with the exploiters for the sake of "intranational concord" in the course of which allegedly all class conflicts disappear. Hence the notorious bourgeois slogan "Divide and rule!" Hence also reactionary nationalism as the founding principle of bourgeois ideology.

Yes, ideology is the concentrated reflection of the class underlining of one social practice or another. The proletariat, a class firmly related to large-scale production, crystallized in the course of the aggravation of the antagonistic clash between labor and capital, is a true fighter for internationalism by virtue of its social purpose, spirit and conscience. Although the bourgeoisie tries to promote a division among the proletariat and to poison with the toxin of nationalism some of its strata, the very conditions of life and struggle invariably lead the workers toward united actions and the need to give priority to common class interests independent of national affiliation. As Engels said, "The proletariat in all countries shares the same interests and the same enemy; it faces the same struggle; by virtue of its very nature, the proletarian mass is free from national prejudices and its entire spiritual development and progress are essentially humanistic and antinationalistic. The proletariat alone can eliminate national exclusivity and the awakening proletariat alone can establish the fraternity among different nations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 2, p 590).

However, in order to realize the revolutionary-collectivistic and international potential objectively inherent in the proletariat, the latter was forced to cover the complex and sometimes painful and long way, fraught with sharp uplifts and unexpected drops, of conversion from a "class within itself" into a "class for itself," to mature socially and to gain a class self-awareness. The combination of scientific socialism with the labor movement, the introduction of a political organization in its spontaneous aspirations and the tireless ideological-theoretical activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties among the masses made it possible for the proletariat to become aware of its position as the subject of progressive social relations and its vanguard social role.

The revolutionary proletarian doctrine calls for approaching the problem of the correlation between the national and the class factors on a dialectical-materialistic basis: taking into consideration the social standard of the nation, the specific level reached in the economic development of society and the deployment of political forces.

Let us note in this connection that during the stage of early capitalism, when nations began to develop, with the appearance of nationwide tasks the struggle for the elimination of feudal splintering or national liberation actions involved all classes interested in social progress. Participation in such positive processes, which penetrate the deepest strata of the popular masses united through a single thrust, each one of them displays its features in its own way, in accordance with its own interests. It was no accident that Lenin spoke of the study of the "various interests of the different classes which come together on the basis of certain definite and limited common tasks" (op. cit., vol 15, p 276). Relations among classes greatly changed when the nation was formed and a number of urgent national problems (such as the acquisition of national independence, for example) were already resolved. In such circumstances the conflicting feelings of the classes participating in the joint struggle become sharply visible and social clashes emerge on the surface. That is precisely why, wherever the national liberation movement may take place on earth, we must bear in mind that it includes, although not even to an equal extent, quite heterogeneous social groups, whose actions sometimes do not coincide by any means. A proper orientation and participation in the movement can be developed as a result of the thorough identification of its social direction, class positions and demands. The practice of contemporary national liberation movements in Asia and Africa indicates that in countries where the broad strata of workers, peasants, artisans and the progressive intelligentsia become active participants and independent forces in the struggle, the problems of the movement are resolved most extensively, the revolutionary gains are firmer and prospects appear for socialist changes following democratic ones.

The historical-scientific approach to the national problem ("its formulation within a specific historical framework"), a sober class analysis (the need to assess "any national demand from the viewpoint of the class struggle waged by the workers"), a consideration of national characteristics (since "different countries are distinguished by the speed of national development, national structure of the population and its location"), and the global scale on which

national problems must be studied are, according to Lenin (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 25, pp 263-264, 275), the mandatory methodological postulates of the theory the purpose of which is to change the entire world radically.

In firmly rejecting any attempts to localize, to separate the national and the class factors--an approach inherent in bourgeois sociology, which considers the interests of the state in general, outside of any link with the interests of the classes which make the nation (see, for example, I. Frankel, "National Interests," London, 1970)--the communists tirelessly explain to the masses that in reality the attitude of any class toward national problems is dictated by its status within society and its social objectives. It is only the interests of classes representing natural historical requirements that can become nationwide.

We are fully justified in saying that the exploiting classes are not the representatives of the entire nation. They are concerned with their own selfish interests and, as the facts prove, do not hesitate to wreck national expectations, should they conflict with the preservation of their class rule. Shortly before the October coup d'etat in Russia, Kornilov and then Kerenskiy tried to surrender Petrograd to the Kaiser's forces in order to behead the proletarian revolution. During the civil war and armed intervention, the capitalists and landowners, overthrown by the revolution, who boasted of their "Russian patriotism" (but were now ready, as M. I. Kalinin aptly said, "to join the devil himself against their own people"), served the foreign imperialists, helping them to deal with their compatriots--the workers and the peasants--and to drown the young Soviet republic in blood. Other clear historical examples of betrayal of national interests include the policy of the ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie, which surrendered to Bismarck's 1870 expansionism and to Hitler in 1940. The big capitalists, writes Andre Simon in his book "I Accuse! The Truth About Those Who Betrayed France," which was published in New York, "have proved quite clearly how both in peace and in war national interests are important to them only when they agree with their private interests."

Unquestionably, the proletariat as well acts above all for the sake of its own class interests. Unlike the narrow egotistical intentions of the bourgeoisie, however, its interests, as the most consistent revolutionary class aimed at freeing from exploitation not itself alone but all exploited and oppressed people, are the basic interests of all working people, of the overwhelming majority of the nation. That is why it acts as the true representative of the nation, expressing the truly national ideals.

Therefore, Marxism-Leninism neither acknowledges nor could acknowledge the metaphysical socioclass and national confrontation or their artificial separation. To the proletariat the entire matter here consists of skillfully combining the concepts of the general and the specific, the socio-international with the national-specific, and the steady implementation and support of the class view on real processes. Naturally, this does not mean the dissolution of the national within the class factor or any reduction of the first to the second, for both features have a certain relative autonomy. It is a question of the fact that national relations are



structured differently from social relations, depending on the class structure of the nation, and the fact that national oppression cannot be eliminated without a struggle against social oppression.

2

This most important theoretical and practical conclusion of scientific communism has been comprehensively tested and confirmed by history on the basis of the experience gained in building socialism in our country.

The victory of the proletarian revolution and public ownership of productive capital laid firm foundations for the free development and close unity among all nations, nationalities and ethnic groups based on equality, friendship and self-determination. These principles were proclaimed during the very first days of the Great October Revolution in the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" and the appeal "To All Toiling Muslims of Russia and the East." However, the mere acknowledgement of legal equality was not sufficient in ensuring the total elimination of contradictions among nations. Actual equality had to be ensured, i.e., a problem which was as important as it was difficult had to be resolved.

In identifying the party's starting positions, Lenin pointed out that "as a conscious spokesman for the struggle waged by the proletariat for overthrowing the bourgeois yoke, the party must face the national problem as well not on abstract or formal principles but ... on a precise consideration of concrete historical and, above all, economic circumstances" (op. cit., vol 41, p 162). Since autocracy "had done everything possible to ensure the reciprocal alienation among nations," this mistrust "must be dispersed through action rather than words" (op. cit., vol 32, p 342; vol 34, p 379).

As the 26th CPSU Congress noted, the Soviet system, which inherited from the tsarist and bourgeois regimes a tangle of social and intranational antagonisms, from the very beginning adopted a firm course of backing the political and juridical rights of the peoples through the material and social means at the disposal of the entire state and to lay the foundations for the true sovereignty and blossoming of the nations.

The elimination of the exploiting classes was of crucial importance in the process of establishing new national relations. "In order for the peoples to become truly united," Marx said, "they must share common interests. In order for their interests to be common, the existing ownership relations must be eliminated, for the existing ownership relations determine the exploitation of some peoples by others...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 4, p 371).

The nationalization of the land, industry and banks, the concentration of command positions in the national economy in the hands of the proletarian state, and the introduction of foreign trade monopoly dealt a major blow to the exploiting classes. Lenin pointed out in 1921 that the capitalists and the big landowners had been totally expropriated and politically defeated. They had preserved their class organization, which numbered as many as

2 million people, with more than 50 newspapers, remnants of their armed forces and widespread relations with the international bourgeoisie only in exile. The share of the exploiting classes, which was 16.3 percent of the population in 1913, was reduced during the first revolutionary years by approximately one-half; it accounted for 8.5 percent by 1924 and 4.6 percent of the population by 1928. In order to complete the elimination of exploiting classes on a national scale, which presumed, first of all, the creation of material prerequisites for a comprehensive change in the production system, based on private ownership, with a production process based on collective ownership and, secondly, the rather deep class differentiation within nations and nationalities, approximately 15 years had to pass. Within that time socialist industrialization was accomplished, which brought about a sharp increase in the size of the working class and a strengthening of its leading role in society. Socialist relations were developed in industry and trade. The kulaks disappeared as a class as a result of the extensive collectivization.

As a necessary prerequisite for changing national relations, the elimination of exploiting classes and groups was marked by specific features in the various parts of the country, for at the start of the revolution our various peoples had reached different levels of social development. Some of them had reached the capitalist stage while others retained feudal and semifeudal relations; others again retained their patriarchal-family way of life. The proletariat in Central Russia became the factor whose influence on backward national outlying areas contributed to the tempestuous rebirth of small nations. They acquired the unprecedented opportunity of taking a gigantic historical leap of bypassing capitalism as a system and directly converting from precapitalist relations to socialism. This opportunity became reality through a number of intermediary stages in the sociopolitical and economic reorganization of the entire way of life.

As a result of the victory of socialism and the reorganization of social relations exploiting elements were entirely eliminated from the social structure of the USSR. By 1939 more than one-half of the population--50.2 percent--consisted of workers and employees; more than one-third--33.5 percent--were workers (for comparison's sake let us point out the respective 1913 percentages--17 and 14.6). The second half of the population consisted of the kolkhoz peasantry and the cooperated artisans--47.2 percent--and an insignificant share--2.6 percent--of private farmers and noncooperated artisans. In a word, by putting an end to the exploiting classes--the bearers and inspirers of national differences--the Soviet system created favorable social grounds for deepening the friendship among the peoples of the USSR.

This was also helped by the tremendous educational and organizational work done by the communist party to rally the working people and join their efforts in strengthening the union state, consolidating the economic foundations of the society and enhancing socialist culture. Let us also note that the party's consistent internationalist policy, imbued with firm respect for national feelings and understanding of the requirements and specifics of each ethnic unit, combined with its intolerance of any manifestations of great-power chauvinism and local nationalism, enabled it to block at the proper

time the threat of national deviationism which, had it gained the upper hand, could have divided the peoples. The party exposed the social roots of all possible national deviations and proved that they reflect the influence of the vestiges of the exploiting classes. Naturally, the elimination of the latter led to the disappearance of the social environment which nurtured both vestiges of a colonizing attitude toward the population of the outlying areas as well as the excessive emphasis on national requirements to the detriment of those of the entire state.

As we think of the inviolability of our sacred brotherhood, which brings together historical and age factors and the strictly personal and closely interwoven destinies of millions of people, we, people belonging to different tribes and speaking different dialects, do not forget our feeling of infinite gratitude to the good creative genius of the Russian people. We do not forget their aid and selfless and effective compassion. We do not forget the greatness of international duty and how many precious things this noble people gave others and how it suffered for the fate of others!

As early as the 19th century this age-old ability of the Russian person, developed by the will of history, to understand the spirit of other peoples, was quite precisely defined by F. M. Dostoyevskiy: "We shall be the first to proclaim to the world that it is not through the suppression of the personality of foreign nationalities that we wish to achieve our own well-being but that, conversely, we consider it only as a result of the most free and independent development of all other nations and in our fraternal unity with them, complementing each other, developing within ourselves their own organic characteristics and extending reciprocal ties, communicating with them through our hearts and spirits, learning from them and teaching them, until mankind, having reached a worldwide communication among nations to the level of universal unity, will extend like a great and splendid tree its shade over the happy earth."

Need we point out that the internationalist features of the Russian people, their moral strength, spiritual clarity and ability not to become embittered by misfortunes but to become wiser and more just in their crucible, were revealed most vividly during the proletarian stage of the revolution. The desire for fraternal support and unity with the national currents of the toiling masses gave particular scope and power to the Russian labor movement which rallied the peoples of the former empire into an invincible bulwark of socialism.

A variety of aid was provided in the course of the elimination of the actual inequality among nations. This covered the material area (the creation of industrial centers in outlying areas with the maximal involvement of the native population, the transfer of a number of plants and factories from the center of Russia to the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and other remote places, the allocation of major capital investments for the construction of republic enterprises, redistribution of part of the budget resources of the RSFSR to meet the needs of the national republics, tax benefits and state subsidies; for example, initially Turkmenia was able to meet no more than slightly more than 10 percent of its expenditures out of its own accumulations) and the

sociospiritual area (helping to eliminate illiteracy, the creation of alphabets for nations which had no written language, using the Russian alphabet, which had become a means of international communication, training national cadres for industry, agriculture, culture and science). The party invariably combined such practical measures within a single set of social problems, bearing in mind not only the fact that industry had to be brought closer to raw material sources and the specialization of economic areas making use of their natural resources with a view to achieving production efficiency, but, above all, surmounting the backwardness of the former national outlying areas and ensuring their accelerated development. "National inequality...", the resolution passed at the 10th RKP(b) Congress emphasized, "was based on historically developed economic inequality." It was "expressed mainly in the fact that ... the Russian outlying areas (Turkestan in particular), had colonial or semicolonial status, kept by force in the role of suppliers of all kinds of raw materials processed by the center. This was the reason for their constant backwardness and hindered the appearance ... of an industrial proletariat...."

Noteworthy in this light is Lenin's objection to the viewpoint held by Ye. Preobrazhenskiy who stated when materials for the Second Komintern Congress were under discussion that "the solution of the national problem must be subordinated to the task of the creation of a single economic entity consisting of the established socialist republics." Circling the word "subordinated," Vladimir Il'ich wrote above it: "one cannot simply subordinate: see my paragraph 12." In that paragraph of Lenin's "Theses" he explained the exceptional complexity of the national problem and the need for the conscious proletariat to display particular caution and attention toward the manifestation of national feelings on the part of oppressed nationalities in order to help them to outlive national mistrust and nationalistic prejudices (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 168).

At the time of the unification of our republics in an all-union federation, which marked the founding of a state and the consolidation of new national relations, substantial differences in the social structure of the peoples, many of whom had no native working class and intelligentsia, were still quite obvious. This was related to their underdeveloped nature as a historical community, which had been held back for centuries of class and tribal economic life.

The process of formation of ethnosocial units itself has taken place at different times in the world and is still noted today in the individual continents. It has always encompassed an entirely clear socioeconomic content. It has always been based on a specific production method and has always experienced the influence of the socially dominant political factors. Thus, the establishment of nations in Western Europe or in North America invariably blended with the development of capitalism. Actually, the appearance of national relations was the result of bourgeois relations. Born under a national flag and concealing to this day social contradictions, the bourgeois state became the tool of a policy of national oppression pursued by the dominating classes, a policy of hostility toward other nations and forced assimilation of national minorities, a policy which hindered the unification of the proletariat as a class.

Different circumstances determined the establishment of nations of a socialist nature after the October Revolution in our country. On the one hand, it took place through the profound reorganization of the bourgeois nations and, on the other, through the consolidation of ethnic groups and tribes which could not develop as nations under capitalism. This intensive process took place in the course of the establishment of socialist relations, not through separation and confrontation but through gravitation toward each other and cooperation. The working class, which was closely related to the multinational peasantry in Russia, was its hegemonistic factor, a class which, representing in the course of its dictatorship the state will of the working people, uses the state as a powerful lever to ensure the all-round upsurge of previously oppressed nations.

The definitive and irreversible solution of the national problem as we inherited it from the past, the elimination of the legal and actual inequality among nations which had gained their independence and retained their originality but which together, harmoniously blended, represented a single rich and inseparable spiritual harmony--a harmony of pure and shining friendship described as Leninist--could be justifiably ranked along great victories in building the new society as the country's socialist industrialization, agricultural collectivization and the cultural revolution.

This radical national reorganization was achieved systematically, in the course of a sharp internal and international class struggle, in the course of tirelessly defeating the forces, traditions and customs of the fiercely resisting exploiting system. It was accomplished under the guidance of the working class and under the powerful influence of Marxism-Leninism, and equally affected large and small nations. Such a reorganization faces (naturally, in their own way and in accordance with changed historical circumstances) all nations which take up the path of revolutionary renovation. Therefore, one cannot enter the bright home of socialism by supporting, like Atlas, the character of ancient Greek mythology, the entire old world on one's shoulders.

### 3

Very little time has passed in terms of the biography of mankind since the December day in 1922 when the Soviet republics united with a firm fraternal handshake in Moscow. Yet what great transformations have taken place since then in our huge homeland and what great successes have been achieved by the peoples! "Mature socialist social relations have been established in the country," states the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. "The task of equalizing the levels of economic development among Soviet republics has been resolved in its essential lines." The idea of the sociopolitical equality among nations has been implemented.

Some figures can be as eloquent as poetry. In past years the volume of industrial output has increased by a factor of more than 700 in Belorussia and Kirghizia, for example, and by more than 900 in Kazakhstan and Moldavia. In the USSR 846 per 1,000 people employed in the national economy have higher and secondary training (full and partial); there are 834 in Latvia, 888 in

Uzbekistan, and 900 in Armenia. (Let us note parenthetically that a black American has half as much opportunity to graduate from a secondary school and one-quarter the opportunity of acquiring a higher education compared with a white citizen of the United States. No more than 4 percent of Australian aborigines graduate from secondary schools and only 56 out of 150,000 are attending higher educational institutions). In the USSR the working people of all nationalities without exception are extensively promoted to positions of power. Thus, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets elected at the last elections include members of respectively 61 and more than 100 different nations and nationalities. Does this not prove the firm, truly national foundation on which we are building our democratic and humane community?

The social structure of the nations in the USSR has become homogenous as a result of the headlong pace of economic and cultural progress, the main result of which has been the building of a developed socialist society. Today all of them consist of a working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia, for which reason national characteristics have virtually lost any connection with differences of a socioclass nature. On a national average, according to the 1979 census, workers and employees account for 85.1 percent or more than four-fifths of the entire population. On this level, interrepublic disparities have been reduced considerably. The best indicator has been reached by Kazakhstan (93.5), although it was one of the most abandoned provinces in tsarist Russia, and in Armenia (90.3). In the 1970s all national detachments of the working class developed, particularly in republics in which their share was below the national average. The cooperated peasantry accounts for 13.3 percent. Currently statistical tables no longer list private farmers and noncooperated artisans.

The most important thing, however, is to note the qualitative changes within the social groups. The Soviet working class--free from exploitation and, together with the other working people, owner of the national productive capital--is engaged not merely in physical but, to an increasing extent, in highly skilled labor (80 percent of the workers have higher or secondary training), which presumes the extensive use of mental work. It is the leading class in our society, its "social mind and social heart" (Marx), its "intellectual and moral motor" (Lenin), the most organized and trained through revolutionary experience, setting the tone in all areas of social activity. "In terms of economic status, ideology, psychology and morality," the CPSU decree notes, "it was and remains the most consistent voice of the international solidarity and fraternity among working people." The implementation of the Leninist national policy is organically related to most profound changes in the social nature of the kolkhoz peasantry in the Soviet republics. The previously scattered small private rural owners have turned into working people united in large collective farms which they own and manage. This is a class of crop growers and animal husbandrymen equipped with modern technology which requires thorough agroindustrial knowledge; 65.5 percent of the employed kolkhoz members have higher or secondary training. Our intelligentsia as well has changed radically in the course of building socialism. The number of workers engaged in primarily mental work has increased by a factor of 14 since 1926. Large detachments of engineering-technical, scientific and artistic intelligentsia, and teachers and

physicians working in the republics are a rapidly growing social stratum. Naturally, in terms of reinforcements and social functions they are the people's, the worker-peasant intelligentsia.

Therefore, Soviet society consists of classes and social groups which are becoming increasingly similar to each other in terms of economic status, conditions and nature of work and cultural standards. In other words, it is developing in the direction of a growing social synthesis which dialectically eliminates the contradictions of previous stages. In analyzing the social consequences of the growing integration between town and country and between the working class and the peasantry, and the conversion of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial work, at its 26th congress the party formulated the thesis that the establishment of a classless structure will take place in its main and basic aspects within the historical framework of mature socialism. The creation of a society in which there will be no division of people into classes is a general objective of its social policy which is focused today on eliminating differences on the territorial level, so to say. Complex problems are being resolved in this area as a common objective of all republics.

It is on this social base that the process of rapprochement among nations is developing, although it is true that the total elimination of differences among them, not to speak of their merger, remains a far more distant prospect.

The internationalization of production conditions, culture and way of life--a trend which becomes already apparent under capitalism--becomes particularly widespread in a socialist society. The growing socialization of labor breaks down national exclusivity and national barriers and links the peoples of the USSR through thousands of economic relations. State economic planning in the interest of the entire country and each separate republic, the blossoming of and rapprochement among nations, the broad and all-embracing interaction and interpenetration among nations, and the population's migration mobility, accompanied by a "mixing" of national structures, accelerate the internationalization of material and spiritual life. The party's attitude toward such processes is based on its broad internationalist sociophilosophical and political thinking. It deems it its duty to support "anything which contributes to the elimination of national disparities and national barriers, anything which makes ties among nationalities closer and closer, leading to the blending of nations" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 24, p 133).

The unionwide economic cooperation among republics is manifested in the exchange of production activities, materials, skilled cadres, professional skills and scientific and technical achievements embodied in the production process. For example, the rich experience of Azerbaijani specialists, who worked hard to organize the extraction of the "black gold" was extensively used in the development of Tatar and Bashkir petroleum deposits. The Caucasus, Siberia, the Urals, the Volga area, the Far East and Central Asia helped to rebuild the Ukrainian industrial centers in the postwar period. The entire country participated in the development of the virgin lands in Kazakhstan. The working people in many republics are participating in the development of the Nonchernozem, the laying of the BAM and the building of

modern industrial complexes such as, for example, the gigantic block of chemical enterprises along the bank of Zapadnaya Dvina (Belorussia). "What power could create such a miracle?" foreign guests have asked. One of the first builders of Novopolotsk, engineer Roman Osipov, answered: "I am familiar with three construction materials from which both the plants and the city were built--metal, concrete and friendship. The last is the strongest and most reliable." The magnetic field of the friendship among peoples is indeed great and omnipotent! We find ourselves in its power field at all times.

As confirmed by the resolutions of the 26th party congress, the further internationalization of the entire social system of Soviet nations and nationalities is a law created above all by the economic prerequisites of building communism in a multinational country. The tremendous volume of social problems, the fast growth of production forces which are crossing the frameworks of national republics and oblasts, and the tremendous size of projects under construction urgently call for the intensification and expansion of cooperation, mutual aid among peoples, and the unification of their creative potential and material and labor resources for the implementation of nationwide and international tasks.

The single socialist economic complex and identical socioclass structure of the individual republics predetermine the coincidence among the basic interests of the peoples of the USSR. Understandably, however, this does not eliminate the specific nature of national interests based on still-existing differences in the levels of the republic economies and sectorial economic structures, related to historical and natural-geographic conditions. The harmonious combination of the interests of individual republics and of the national with the all-union factors does not take place automatically. It requires the proper management of economic and cultural construction and the efficient regulation of economic and all other relations among nations.

The party's masterly knowledge of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, the dialectics of objective phenomena and processes, is manifested in full in the implementation of such a purposeful and flexible political line based on a strictly scientific analysis and mandatorily taking into consideration the role of the national aspect in the solution of social problems and, conversely, the influence of decisions on the content of national relations. The art of harmonizing the wishes, will and sympathy of the working people of different nationalities and the finest shades of mass mentality, "particularly important in the case of the national problem" (Lenin) with objective social trends and the ability to interpret the present and look at the future through the lens of proletarian-class interests apply, from this viewpoint, to national requirements as well, allowing for certain concessions made to national minorities and the ability persistently to promote the revolutionary alliance among nations without ignoring one necessary stage or another--such is the explanation for the durable successes of the Leninist national policy pursued by our party.

The overall result of the process of rapprochement of social groups and nations was the Soviet people--a special historical community which obtained



its name not on the basis of territorial or ethnic characteristics but its class nature and targets. It presumes state unity without being reduced merely to it. It is an unparalleled interclass and international, integral and stable sociointernationalist alloy developed by the working class, the socialist interests and communist ideals of which it has adopted. It must be considered as the first form of human cohabitation, qualitatively different from previously known communities, among the meta-ethnic associations which will inevitably arise in the course of the advancement of nations toward a non-national mankind, as a foreigner of a global "association of free producers," the triumph of which was predicted by the founders of scientific communism.

Whereas the material roots of this community are found in the unified national economic system, collective toil for the common good and a socialist distribution principle, its spiritual foundation consists of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary-proletarian outlook, socialist patriotism and all-national Soviet pride. "... The Soviet people are not a simple sum of nations...", L. I. Brezhnev pointed out. "Regardless of national affiliation, our people have many common features which unite them within a monolithic entity. They include common ideology and common historical destinies. They include common conditions of socioeconomic life.... They include a developing common Soviet socialist culture which encompasses all the true values of each separate national culture." Let us add that it beautifully refracts the beauty of the renovated free labor, which enhances creative power, and the epic of the greatest revolutionary accomplishments. It profoundly reveals the exceptional coordination and harmony between small and large features, individual parts and entities, unity and variety, not in their mechanical manifestations in the least. Here the internationalism and inseparability of our sacred relations are sociomoral categories created by the very logic of the socialist way of life of the working people, based on the unbreakable accord among all classes and social groups, nations and nationalities in terms of their interests and objectives, will and actions, deep attachments, trust and reciprocal concern.

Ignoring the specific reality of our days, the ideological henchmen of imperialist reaction are disseminating the most shameless lies and slanders about the Soviet people, interpreting them as nothing but a temporary conglomerate of various nations. In particular, they claim that the communists use the concept of the new social and international community as an ideological platform for their policy of assimilation which dooms the nations within the country to gradual Russification. This absurd idea is "supported" by the allegedly "incontrovertible" argument that "a conversion from a federated state system to a unitarian one" is expected in Russia (B. Meissner, "The Soviet Concept of Nation and the Right of National Self-Determination," in the INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, No 1, Vol 32, Toronto, 1976-1977, pp 72-75). By totally misrepresenting national relations in the USSR the "Sovietologists" are trying to present them upside down, with the help of sociological terms and expressions (which, in fact, apply to the contemporary capitalist reality) as "territorial annexation by force," "suppression of ethnic groups," "loss of ethnic autonomy," "insulting ethnic groups by the neocolonialists," and others. Naturally, they resort to such means in order to conceal the essential difference between the two types of national relations and to

impose upon the public the view that under socialism as well the national problem is as far removed from its solution as it is in the developed capitalist countries, for in both places the forms and methods of approach to it are similar and equally sterile. Typically, still hoping to "disintegrate" the USSR by galvanizing international contradictions, the U.S. Department of State openly calls in its instruction to the management of the Voice of America radio station to "stir up the minority against the majority by using national differences; to stir up Estonians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, and others against the Russians. Promote national discord!"

However, the hopes of fanning nationalistic moods within our people are futile. The vital force of the Leninist national policy and the solidity of the Soviet social system have withstood the test of time and fire. When the danger of fascist slavery hung over the country the sons and daughters of all nations and nationalities proved their loyalty to the socialist fatherland with their stirring daring and courage on the front and the rear. The war assumed the nature of a fierce battle between two conflicting social systems and two outlooks and ideologies. The Soviet people and the socialist system fulfilled their liberation mission. Mankind and its civilization were saved. In today's world as well, divided by borders and alienation, yet also indivisible on the compressed area of the globe, the first socialist state of the whole people--the vanguard of the comity of socialist countries--warmly aspiring to prevent the deadly rays of a nuclear hurricane from ever blocking the sky over the planet and defending and saving the highest value of the universe--man--rises over the deadening chaos of mistrust, suspicion, national exclusivity and egotism and the incalculable criminal plans of 20th-century Herostratae, its clear thought, sobriety and perspicacity and its creative passion for communist truth.

The lofty humanism of contacts among nations established by socialism is clearly visible against the background of the bubbling political reality of the bourgeois West torn by militaristic and chauvinistic psychoses and sharp class conflicts between the proletariat and the rule of the rich. Stern reprisals against fighters for racial and national equality in the United States, South Africa and Namibia, colonialist activities on the part of British imperialism in Ulster, conflicts between the English and French-speaking Canadian population, clashes between Flemish and Walloons in Belgium, and national discrimination against mercilessly exploited foreign workers, who number about 10 million in the Western European countries alone, again and again prove that capitalism was and remains the sinister source of the tragic fate of the toiling masses regardless of nationality.

From early antiquity to this day a continuous chain of tribal, racial and national conflicts runs throughout the entire history of mankind. Such conflicts have frequently brought disasters and sufferings to the peoples and covered entire continents in blood. For thousands of years the best minds have tried to find a solution to this situation but clashed against the firm wall of rule by the exploiters, which triggers and supports national oppression.

Today the entire world is witnessing the fact that the daring and splendid dream of a great country, which unites in a voluntary state alliance socialist nations blended by friendship and fraternity, has become a reality. From its gigantic tree branches of a new life are spreading throughout the earth. It has been destined by history itself to illuminate the path into the future through its revolutionary light. Undeviatingly, the assertion of the social, spiritual and moral values of developed socialism, gained in the course of heroic labor and battle, is the main intent which imbues the minds and feelings of its people. This is a people which carries within it the idea of the unity of all mankind and whose heart contains the entire pain and joy of the age.

During all the stages of the revolutionary struggle and building a new society, our people have infinitely trusted the wise collective mind of Lenin's party. That is because the party has never had interests other than those of the people or concern other than that for its good and happiness and because it is precisely the communists who carry on their flags the truth of the century. The working people in our country have always seen that the communist party, whatever turn events may take, or whatever trials may befall, has remained on the level of its lofty call. They welcomed with deep satisfaction the decisions of the November Central Committee plenums, which confirmed the continuity of our domestic and foreign policy course, clearly and fully reflected in the documents of the 23rd to the 26th party congresses. This is a course of further strengthening of the economic and defense power of the homeland, enhancing the well-being of the people and strengthening peace.

Unity between party and people is a guarantee of the invincible power of the socialist system. It enables us confidently to look at the future and to implement the program of building communism persistently and steadily.

The poet has expressed clearly this common aspiration of the multitribal family of Soviet people, truly rich with the happiness of reciprocal understanding:

We love as we march along,  
To the mountain peaks.  
We are all the rays of a single dawn,  
The swords of a single unit.

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## PEOPLE ON THE TRACK

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[Article by Yu. Konishchev, Urengoy-Tatar, Mari, Chuvash and Mordovian ASSRs  
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[Text] Astronomical figures show up when we discuss our reserves of fuel and energy resources or their volumes of output. Today our country accounts for one-fifth of the global production of energy resources. We lead in petroleum extraction and are rapidly becoming the leading producer of natural gas. Nevertheless, given the current rates of development, the energy needed by the country's national economy remains in short supply. The 26th CPSU Congress noted that the solution of all national economic problems--production and social--depends on the development of heavy industry, its basic sectors--fuel and energy--above all. The fast increase in the extraction of Siberian natural gas and its moving to the European part of the country were singled out as tasks of prime economic and political importance. This is the most important part of the energy program of the USSR, the formulation of which was undertaken on L. I. Brezhnev's initiative. In his address to the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Leonid Il'ich said: "The country owes a great deal to the heroic work of gas and petroleum extraction and construction workers who gave us access to the wealth of Western Siberia. They face even greater tasks during the 11th Five-Year Plan. We must develop new deposits and build and commission five of the largest main gas pipelines from Western Siberia to the center and the export gas pipeline from Urengoy to Uzhgorod. Unquestionably, these are the main construction projects of the five-year plan which must be completed on time."

Deliveries of Tyumen natural gas, which flows as a powerful stream to meet the needs of the national economy, are the accomplishment of the hands, energy and minds of the Soviet people who are fulfilling the party's plans with enthusiasm and dignity.

The natural gas mains are not only the hotlines of a modern economy or the solution of the fuel and energy problem but also projects working for the future, showing most clearly and vividly the socialist way of life and the character of the Soviet person.

## Track Strategy

Two of the six powerful gas mains scheduled for completion during this five-year plan have been completed--the ones leading to Gryazovets and Petrovsk, while a third, ending at Novopskov, is undergoing its final tests. Currently the laying of the fourth pipeline from Urengoy to Uzhgorod or, as it is frequently described as the one from Western Siberia to Western Europe, is proceeding at a fast pace. In January 1984 Urengoy gas flowing along the pipelines will reach consumers, including those in foreign countries. After planned production capacity has been reached by the export pipeline the country will assume a leading position in the world as a natural gas producer.

"The sector," as B. Ye. Shcherbina, minister of construction of petroleum and gas industry enterprises, has said, "has such a high potential that currently the possibility of completing during the current five-year plan an additional, seventh main gas pipeline is being studied."

The track of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod pipeline, 4,451 kilometers long, will be laid across two continents and two mountain ridges--the Urals and the Carpathians--and hundreds of rivers among which the Volga, Ob and Dnepr. It will cross the severe tundra, the bottomless Tyumen swamps, the impassable Tayga and thousands of ravines. The laying of the pipe will require moving 129 million cubic meters of earth, the building of 40 powerful compressor stations, modern highways, high-tension power transmission cables, and recultivation of 27.2 million square meters of fertile land. This most complex engineering and technical system is, essentially, a river of energy which is severalfold more powerful than all electric power plants along the Angara and Yenisey combined. A total of 32 billion cubic meters of natural gas will be pumped along this pipeline alone.

The initial brigades arrived at the place of the future pipeline last June. However, nearly 2,000 kilometers of pipes have already been welded and the construction of compressor stations has been undertaken. The high level of domestic technology and of our engineers, designers, scientists and planners and the high professionalism of the workers make it possible to implement this "project of the century," as it has been described in the West, within such an extraordinarily short time.

Not too long ago Western prophets claimed that we would be unable to extract the wealth of the Tyumen ground even during the next century. Today the following is heard: They will be unable to build gas pipelines because the Russians have poor quality pipes, underpowered compressor stations lacking the necessary equipment and undertrained cadres. However, here is what Dieter Mayer, a West German specialist and director of the Mannesmann Company, which has contracted to supply us with pipes and other equipment, said: "... The USSR has developed its own school of pipeline layers. Let me point out some of its characteristics: very high level of knowledge (this is not merely my personal opinion but that of all our specialists), consisting not simply of extensive knowledge of the subject but a knowledge which today is, unquestionably, the most advanced. This is the leading end of science and practical experience. It is no accident, therefore, that your specialists are

submitting to us requirements which are so strict that we must steadily improve our work...."

As to the pipes themselves, anyone who is knowledgeable in such matters knows that we have successfully tested multiple-layer pipes developed by the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton, of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, which can withstand pressures of 120-130 atmospheres. Nowhere else in the world are such pipes being manufactured.

By now it has become clear to anyone that we are able to achieve such impressive results. Naturally, a number of factors predetermine this success. The main among them, however, remain the enthusiasm and skill of our people. Compared with all preceding such projects, far fewer people will be laying this pipeline, in full accordance with the strategic stipulation of "considering not numbers but skill." Currently the 50 linear technological flows of the pipeline employ 20,000 people, and approximately the same number will be required to build all compressor and gas-cooling stations. People from throughout the country, members of more than 60 nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union, work here. This project is justifiably considered international.

Such compressed time and inordinately high pace triggered an avalanche of economic, organizational, social and living problems. The construction workers were prepared for this. However, never before have we been faced with so many problems at the same time, problems which, most importantly, require immediate solutions. The pipeline is a project of a new engineering class, which demanded different approaches to problems. The strategy of laying the track and organizing the work of the collectives in such a way that they could all operate while maintaining the same rhythm in all sectors had to be developed skillfully. The most advanced labor methods had to be tried and tested. Here the very scope of the project emphasized particularly heavily the need for a knowledgeable approach to all problems related to building main gas pipelines and to resolve them not under the influence of unpredicted and unpredictable events but on the basis of precise scientific data and concepts.

The fast pace of the advance and the strict requirements of reliability and impeccability of the work system forced the track layers to think on a broad scale, to surmount psychological barriers of departmentalism and shortages of material and technical supplies, and steadily to seek solutions to most difficult situations. The complexity was worsened by the fact that in resolving new problems within such a short time, guided by their set targets, they had to abandon methods of labor organization already tried under different conditions, which had been tested and proven adequate, and to eliminate things which, given different circumstances, had not even been tried. All of this was for the sake of achieving a better approach to requirements--an approach which exceeded contemporary scientific and technical standards.

... One of the sectors in the Urengoy-Uzhgorod pipeline track, 215 kilometers long, from the Vyatka to the Volga, was assigned to the Tatnefteprovodstroy Trust. Its former manager, now main administration official Konstantin Vladimirovich Yao, told us the following:

"The most difficult thing was to reorient the people on a different scale, to convince them to abandon tried labor methods which had yielded substantial and stable results. It was frequently said that a bird in hand is better than two in the bush. This view was held not only by brigade leaders but by a large number of specialists as well. One could understand the views of brigade collectives, for they were only beginning to work on a contracting basis. They saw that this paid. The organization of the work improved, idling declined and earnings increased. This was a new experiment.

"However, this was urged by reality. Even consolidated cost-effectiveness brigades could lay no more than 50 kilometers of pipe per year on an average. Do you know why we became flustered? There was no reciprocal economic interest among the brigades and administrations in terms of end results--the finished pipeline. For example, the earth removers tried to dig a trench faster, after which they did not care if it flooded or was blocked by landslides. They were no longer interested. They covered their meters of advance and did not intend to go back. The same situation prevailed among the welders--they covered their meters of welding, leaving gaps at the difficult sectors such as ravines, sharp turns or swampy areas. They all had their own plans and interests. Frequently they stocked their meters 'in reserve.' Earnings were high, many of the documents were swollen with red figures, bookkeeping was proper yet they failed to deliver the finished "pipe" on time. Furthermore, the brigades needed work space. For example, they would finish their own sector somewhere near Sverdlovsk and could find work only in Tatariya. So, two to three times every year they moved from Chuvashiya to Arkhangelsk and from Perm to Tyumen. Each such move took 3 months. Meanwhile, the plan called for laying 215 kilometers of pipe per year. It became clear that the old forms of labor organization were inconsistent with the new conditions and requirements. Essential changes were needed."

... A collective headed by Hero of Socialist Labor Il'sur Garafiyevich Shaykhutdinov is at work in one of the sectors along the track.

A gas track could be justifiably described as a testing ground for creativity, the mass search for daring ideas and the making of extraordinary decisions. After the party and the government had set the deadlines for the completion of all six pipelines the cunning enterprise and firm nature of the track workers became immediately apparent and clear. The people, profoundly interested in the work, developed the idea of the creation of comprehensive technological flows which would combine all linear services which would be equally responsible for end results. Such flows include up to 250 people (depending on the length of their work sector). Welders, earth removers, insulation workers, drivers and other specialists within the flow were told the following: "Here is the equipment, the papers and the documents and the specific sector along which you will be working throughout the five-year plan, laying all six pipes along the same track. We shall supply you with everything necessary but the results will be based exclusively on the finished product...."

"We agreed," Il'sur Garafiyevich says, "naturally, not immediately. We checked everything thoroughly, recomputed, and sought the advice of other fraternal and related collectives. We realized that this was to the benefit of all and in our interest. The pace increased immediately and the quality of the work improved. The economists estimated that at the very beginning both labor productivity in terms of physical indicators and the finished product, i.e., the length of pipe laid, would double and would increase even further subsequently. Impressive? The "corridor system" not only increases productivity but ensures better environmental protection conditions. In the past we had to even and match the ground dozens of times. Now we prepare the work area immediately, for the entire 5 years. Naturally, all this was difficult. Conflicts arose. Not everyone liked this. Some people, who were earning considerably above average, feared equalization.

"'I am a high-grade worker,' one of them said. 'I know this equipment like my five fingers. I am a master of this technology. And now some novice may be considered my equal. Let him start by bailing water out of the trench.'

"Such people left us," the flow chief went on to say. "However, we were not sorry to see them go, despite manpower shortages. Having failed to understand the meaning of the main purpose, the key task of reaching the common objective, they were not fighters. Those who were left were the restless people, the 'high-test' people with great dignity. I remember that the best welder in the trust, Anatoliy Petrovich Chistyakov, whose fellow workers had nicknamed 'the king,' because of his particular professional skill and mastery, was one of the first to speak out in favor of the flow. He was supported by his colleagues Vyacheslav Romanovich Ulyakhin, Ivan Vasil'yevich Mikhaylov and many others. It was then that the pledge was given to lay two-thirds of the pipeline by the anniversary of the 60th year of the founding of the USSR and to complete the balance by V. I. Lenin's birthday. We are currently ahead of schedule: the plan calls for 15 kilometers per month. We are welding and laying in the trench more than that. Idling has come to end. Generally speaking, there are no technical difficulties. The difficulties are purely organizational and psychological. For decades we had become accustomed to defend "our own" narrow-departmental interests; suddenly, everything becomes subordinate to a single objective, to the end result. Surmounting the psychological barrier and reorganizing the work on a different basis was not easy. However, we realized that if we wanted to and jointly took up the common project, many hindrances which were previously considered insurmountable, including departmental ones, could be eliminated you have given a promise you must keep it. The main thing in the flow is that the balance between experienced and beginning workers is not disturbed. The common guideline is the pipeline."

Naturally, a complex technological flow is a tremendous step forward in organizational work, technological discipline, management system, and mutual interest shown by all units and services aimed at end results. However, this is still a single step toward improving intradepartmental relations. The next stage required a qualitative leap. The need arose for a system which would not simply aim the people toward end results but would force everyone



to achieve the highest possible results with the lowest possible outlays. The brigade contracting method is such a streamlined system. However, it is precisely a brigade method. Suddenly the idea developed of converting to a contracting method the entire comprehensive flow involving dozens of technological operations and services and hundreds of people. A cost-effective flow is the equivalent of a plant producing finished goods under contract.

This was a daring idea which was supported by the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. It was decided to try it with one of the best ministry subdivisions--the Kuybyshev Pipeline Construction Trust.

The trust was created 3 years ago. It had not as yet acquired the burden of traditions or standardized solutions to problems. Its collective had participated in the building and completion of the Central Asia-Center, Urengoy-Gryazovets-Moscow Oblast Ring, Urengoy-Petrovsk and Urengoy-Novopskov gas pipelines, the Surgut-Polotsk and Pavlodar-Chimkent petroleum pipelines and other pipeline-laying projects. The trust had been assigned the construction of the most important projects--the pumping and compressor stations and its work quality had always remained high.

This is a young collective. Its chief specialists are between 30 and 33 years of age. The young party member Leonid Viktorovich Mikhel'son was appointed head of the cost-effective flow.

"I must admit that I became frightened," Leonid Viktorovich says. "Naturally, I had some experience but when you consider the scale.... See for yourself, the sector of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod export gas pipeline, from the Volga to the Sura rivers, 127 kilometers long, had to be covered according to the plan in less than a year. This involved the crossing of 35 rivers and streams, 13 highways, and two railroad crossings, and setting up more than 11,000 props [prigruzov] weighing several tons each--90 per pipeline kilometer, and cross 60 ravines, some of which were up to 35 degrees steep. Furthermore, the main administration warned me that this project was to become a standard in laying main gas pipelines. I expressed all my doubts at the meeting of the trust's party aktiv and the leading specialists.

"This is indeed a serious matter," noted Aleksandr Viktorovich Leskin, trust party committee secretary. "This is the first time that such an experiment has taken place on this scale. We need a precise economic study and engineering computations. The cost-effective flow must be backed by strictly scientific and substantiated documentation, so that the entire collective may become familiar with and believe in it. To achieve this, all services in the flow, including engineering-technical in auxiliary, must be reorganized on a contracting basis...."

The ministry supported the idea and it was then that the specialists went to work. for the entire system of planning, incentive, material and technical support and organization of the work had to be redone. A single comprehensive order involving the entire pipeline sector was drafted. The flow personnel assumed total responsibility for the equipment, materials and funds. All that was asked of it was a finished pipeline. Bonuses were to be

paid if delivered ahead of schedule while in the opposite case the collective would pay the cost. Bonuses and other monetary rewards were to be paid also for saving on materials and fuel.

It was then that the workers, the specialists, the auxiliary workers and even the cook, the chiefs and the cultural workers began to feel like the real masters of the project, for they too worked on a contracting basis.

"We eliminated at the flow the main contradiction, the main trouble of the previous organization of labor," said Leonid Yakovlevich Simanovskiy, chief of the trust's planning-economic department, as we traveled with him from Novokuybyshevsk to the Chuvash city of Tsvilsk, not far from which were the settlement and the base of the pipeline layers. "Previously all benefits and goods were for the workers, while the specialists were paid their salaries with small bonuses. The foreman is the eye, the brain of the brigade, working from dawn to dusk and frequently nights, yet he earned less than a brigade leader. Conflicts arose and some foremen wanted 'to become rank-and-file workers.' Mutual understanding along vertical lines was difficult to achieve. For example, although a cost-effective brigade would urgently need precise computations and information, an economist or technologist may be dragging his feet, not being in a hurry. Now everything has changed radically. For example, a young economist--a girl who graduated from technical school a year ago--is working at the flow. Her salary is 160 rubles while her monthly earnings according to the brigade order were double that amount. Now her computations are like those of a pharmacist--precise and fast. We have finally gotten rid of obsolete methods for planning, assessing and providing incentives based on intermediary indicators by aiming the collective at end results."

Everything is relative. We can avoid mentioning large numbers of figures but a few cannot be avoided. Last year, working in a flow but not on a cost-effective basis, the monthly output per worker on the Urengoy-Petrovsk track was 6,500 rubles. In construction sectors such output is considered high on an annual basis. On the Urengoy-Novopskov sector the monthly output reached 7,750 rubles. A total of 360 people worked on the flow. In less than 4 months of work on the export pipeline, on a contractual basis, individual output reached 14,040 rubles. In 2.5 months the workers laid one-half of the track --more than 60 kilometers. The most important thing is that whereas previously there were 360 people at work, the cost-effective flow uses 230. Construction costs have been reduced as well, respectively by 9.12, 9.26 and 12 percent. It is thus that the principles of the Shchekino work method were creatively used on the pipeline.

Is the system good? Obviously, if it motivate every person to work with such high efficiency. Naturally, this benefits the individual as well. The average monthly earnings of a skilled worker have reached from 700 rubles along the Urengoy-Novopskov pipeline to 800 rubles at the export pipeline. The socialist principle of labor incentive is truly effective here.

"The main thing here," the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted, "is for every working person to see, to feel directly the simple and understandable connection between what he has accomplished and what he has earned."

The possibility has also developed of more flexibly handling material and technical resources. The released workers and specialists were directed to the new "zero" sector--i.e., they were sent to Urengoy. It was there, under the management of flow chief Viktor Dmitriyevich Naumenko, that a track of the pipeline, 50 kilometers long, is scheduled to be laid in December and January. This is an additional assignment issued the collective at the most important point of the track, for no work can be done in that area in summer because of the swamps. Incidentally, this is another advantage of cost-effective flows: their mobility and their delivery of completely finished projects.

Large, complex and mobile flows operating on a contracting basis may be tomorrow's levels to be reached in our construction work and a breakthrough into future production relations in the most important area in the country's national economy--capital construction.

#### Pace of the Track

Modern production, including the laying of gas pipelines, makes strict demands on machines and equipment. However, its demands are even more exigent of the people handling them. The highest possible professionalism and excellent work quality are necessary conditions along the track. The pipeline calls for a rigid and uncompromising professional selection. It is based on the increased complexity of the work. Gas must be handled very precisely. Breakdowns are inadmissible. Even the slightest defect, a substandard weld or a crack may spread along the pipeline like an avalanche and may either break it up or even flatten it. A breakdown may turn into irreparable gas losses and a stop in the operation of the entire pipeline.

Therefore, the prime requirement facing all services is ensuring the reliability and failure-free performance of the pipeline. This is the law of the track, for pipes laid underground cannot be examined. The quality of the work can be only excellent and no other rating is admissible. It is better immediately to correct any fault if such is revealed as a result of strictest possible control on the part of a specialized laboratory, using gamma or X-rays or magnetographs. However, the track workers themselves guarantee the reliability of their work. They sign guarantee documents; welders stamp their own seals and closely check one another so that no one would make even the slightest error in the flow.

It is here, along the pipeline, that the features of quality changes can be felt tangibly and clearly. The requirements facing the skilled worker grow with every passing day. From dedicated work, frequently done under extreme circumstances, in laying the first gas pipelines, a shift has taken place in the direction of high labor standards. Knowledge, reliance on engineering ideas, general culture and civic maturity are today mandatory prerequisites for highly productive toil along such complex technical installations. However, although the track creates many difficulties, it also puts the worker under circumstances which help him to reveal his capabilities and strong qualities. It gives the people a particular feeling of responsibility and involvement, and the feeling that they are doing truly creative work.

That is how this year's USSR State Prize laureate, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich Pridantsev, was able to show his best qualities at the track. He has spent 23 of his 46 years as an excavator operator building main pipelines. He is a party member. Six years ago, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich assumed the leadership of an earth removal brigade. He was among the first in the administration to apply cost-effectiveness. Last year, his 23-member brigade carried out construction and installation work worth 1.5 million rubles. The brigade advanced 1,400 meters per shift instead of 900 as normed. He has mastered several skills. I learned about all this from information related to his nomination for the state prize.

According to the Kuybyshev Pipeline Construction Trust, currently the brigade within the Chuvash flow is working even better. I also learned that Pridantsev is the type of manager who invariably develops an atmosphere of calm efficiency and confidence in the ultimate success. Although Pridantsev himself is currently resting, there is complete order in the brigade. Everything is being done without fuss or nervousness. It is as though everything is taking place by itself.

Although on leave, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich was at home. He was preparing to move with his family to the town where the flow is centered. He is married and has two children. His older son is also an excavator operator, while the younger is attending a vocational technical school for bulldozer operators and intends to work on the track with his father. Finding out that a visiting correspondent was interested in him, he went to the trust's party committee voluntarily and immediately the room was filled with optimistic and humorous talk.

"Things are not bad, naturally, everything is well and we are now advancing a kilometer-long "step" per day in the flow. However, we are not alone. The brigade has a number of very experienced mechanizers. My own deputy, pipeline-laying veteran Nikolay Fedorovich Tregubov, is an excellent organizer, a very tactful and warm person. The moral potential of our brigade, developed on the basis of personal experience, major and minor victories, successes and defeats, our individual personal experience, can be expressed in the simple and wise principle of 'one for all and all for one.' This is the reason for our results. Anyone can achieve them by properly organizing the work. Incidentally, we discuss this matter frequently. People from all parts of the country have come to work on the pipeline. Take for example our bulldozer operator Fedor Sergeyevich Kulakov. He has worked all over the place but has never earned as much as he does now, on the flow. We have reached the conclusion that everything depends on the proper organization of the work. Once normal conditions have been created and we are supplied uninterruptedly with everything we need, spare parts and materials, the work is in full swing. No idling or breakdowns are possible. The moral atmosphere is supported by the material base, i.e., by the unity between word and action. The worker feels that he is the true master and begins to think rather than to turn around aimlessly. How to work better, faster and more economically? The worker is not indifferent to the way he earns his wages. This creates conditions for creativity instead of merely saying that all work is creative. What kind of creativity could be displayed by a ditch digger? It may seem to

be the same type of monotonous work--dig on and on. But look through the excavator's window to the soil, the way it yields, soft and helpless. Is it not creativity to dig a trench, as though plastering it, in such a way that its sides will not crumble, that no single meter of arable land will be lost or that the landscape will not be spoiled? Many are the snags and dirty tricks in the ravines, rock slides, granite blocks and swamps! However, we are always intrigued when we come across an unexpected, a difficult problem. It is an incomparable joy to find something new, to see, to prove, and to convince oneself and one's comrades of the efficiency of one's decision. The mood is such that you go home feeling no fatigue."

"Nevertheless, are there no elements of monotony in digging or pipe welding?"

"Hardly, and that is precisely why we have the system of making everyone master, as a rule, of several related skills. One can always ask the advice of other comrades. That is why the people remain at work here, sometimes forever, finding the work interesting and not monotonous. Many people come here accidentally and later it turns out that they have found their lifetime job. Such people both want and know how to work...."

In the flow and throughout the entire pipeline there are thousands of people like Pridantsev, who holds the position of brigade leader but is an educator by vocation and a professional organizer. The Kuybyshev Pipeline Construction Trust alone numbers two Heroes of Socialist Labor--Petr Matveyevich Sharov, head of a fitters' brigade, and Ivan Yegorovich Kirichenko, section chief; two other Heroes of Socialist Labor--Nikolay Semenovich Barkov and Petr Leont'yevich Brichik--were recently pensioned off.

Naturally, specialists who know their value, fifth and sixth-grade professionals, come to work on the pipeline. However, true mastery is created and matures here, along the track. It would be no exaggeration to say that the work demands the precision of a jeweler. The trench must be dug in such a way that the half-meter-wide pipeline, weighing many tons and of endless length must fit in it precisely, must blend with all turns and zigzags, sharp inclines and dizzying drops.

... Powerful basket carriers [pletevozy] steadily feed the tracks with pipes (each basket contains three pipes, 33 meters long, weighing 24 tons). The pipe layers keep them hanging until the centering--one of the important operations preceding the welding--has been completed.

"Centering could take 1 minute or 1 hour," we were told by Pavel Vasil'yevich Ivanov, head of a welding-assembly brigade, when we arrived at one of the active points along the track, to look at the record advance of the Chuvash flow. "Everything here depends on who is centering, on the coordination and efficient interaction between the 'piper,' i.e., the operator of the pipe-laying machine, and the centering worker. At this point an error of even one-tenth of a millimeter would be inadmissible, for even the tiniest crack...

Then the welder spot-welds. He is followed by the most skilled outside welders who, lying on their backs--in the mud, snow or a swamp--make the

basic seam. At the same time, a third welder crawls inside the pipe and makes the welding seam.

At this record-setting sector, on that day four Chuvash welders were displaying their skill: V. N. Petrov, N. Ye. Yegorov, V. F. Fedorov and N. I. Yeliseykin. The first basic seam was entrusted to the ace, Nikolay Yegorovich Yegorov.

"The norm?" he repeated the question, stopping for a minute. "Ten welds per shift. Our socialist obligations call for 15 welds or half a kilometer of pipeline. Yesterday, however, we did 22--more than 700 meters."

"Is this not a tiring pace?"

"If you work with enthusiasm you feel no fatigue. On the contrary, you feel new strength. The good feeling eliminates the fatigue. Strength pours into you from the ground, like Antaeus. We, the track workers, are always in touch with the ground and the 'fire,' day and night...."

At the same faster rate the welders are followed by the welding semi-automated machines which complete the cycle. This is followed by the insulation-laying column, whose skilled workers must "swaddle" the pipe and carefully lay it in its "cradle" where it will remain for many years. The entire cycle is completed with bulldozer operators: they cover the pipe with a thick layer of soil on top of which they spread a fertile stratum and the thus-completed section is ready for testing.

Each linear service along the flow provides a working area to a related service and everyone helps the others if necessary. Should a break occur, or, something which is far worse, should a pipe become "tricky"--i.e., should it lie improperly or turn over, in one of the difficult sectors in which a "collar" welding is necessary (the linking of two pipe segments laid opposite each other), and should additional pipe layers, excavators, or bulldozers be needed, comrades from another brigade will rush to help. In the same way the pipe layers will help the excavator operators, and so on. The brigades compete among each other according to the "worker's relay race" principle and the slogan "from reciprocal claims to mutual aid," so that all of them may be influenced by a common incentive, a "related" impulse aimed at achieving end results. This has been extended to all related and auxiliary services. For example, welding each pipe directly on the track is inconvenient. It takes a lot of time, increases labor intensiveness and quality is hard to maintain. A semi-automatic base pipe-welding stationary system has been improved and is used to weld three pipe segments together.

"This eliminates manual welding entirely," says Aleksandr Sergeyevich Katin, head of the system-welding brigade. "The quality of the welding is improved. Our BTS-143 system has enabled us to reduce the number of welders by more than one-half. We no longer hold back the flow because of the shortage of sections, and are even assuming a leading position in the competition."

The country supplies the pipeline layers with the most modern and advanced equipment. Anyone we spoke with along the track has had good things to say about this, showing understanding and interest and wishes that designers would eliminate existing weak spots or areas.

"Although so far domestic bulldozers are less powerful compared with foreign," notes N. F. Tregubov, deputy head of an earth-removing brigade, "they are more reliable and in swampy areas their work is more productive. Our 'Kirovets' models are more powerful but their transmission gears should be strengthened...."

"The Kovrov excavator is irreplaceable," added operator Vladimir Grigor'yevich Artishchev. "It is an excellent piece of machinery. However, the quality of the oil distributors produced by a Baku machine-building plant should be improved."

"We have finally received a northern bus based on the 'Ural' all-terrain vehicle," said driver Boris Nikolayevich Sysov, backing his comrades' words. He has handled his winch since 1943, and has spent 30 years along pipeline tracks. "It has three separate heaters and is kept warm inside even at 60 degrees below zero. In the summer it is kept cool with air conditioners."

Starting with this year the plant for construction machinery in Sterlitamak will be producing hundreds of powerful domestic pipe-laying machines. The pace of laying the pipeline also depends on the auxiliary services--a great deal of the overall time needed is spent on auxiliary operations--as well as on particularly complex projects such as compressor, gas-pumping and gas-cooling stations, systems for the comprehensive processing of the natural gas and others. A system of good engineering preparations of the sites is firmly followed along the track. All sites are prepared ahead of time, as a result of which all basic operations can be completed quickly and on a high-quality level, without rushing. Maximal construction industrialization and extensive use of the block-set method is the main principle followed in laying the pipeline, building stations and other projects and installing the necessary systems along the entire track.

The GPTs-16 gas-pumping unit, with a capacity of 32 million cubic meters of natural gas per day, was built in 2 months--a time unmatched at home and abroad.

"The unit itself was assembled in 10 days," says Anatoliy Ivanovich Veshchurov, chief of sector at the Tsentrkomplektmontazh Trust. "Even we did not believe that we were able to do it. Usually, this takes 8 to 10 times longer. The speed became possible thanks to the block systems manufactured at the Machine-Building Association imeni M. V. Frunze in Sumi, and the high skill and dedication of the entire sector collective. We now have a system for running-in domestic powerful turbine engines for the compressor stations."

All of this combined--the high level of organizational work, modern, highly productive equipment, progressive technology and, above all, cadres--has made it possible for many competing collectives to lay a completed pipeline at the rate of 1 kilometer daily.

The collective of the flow of the Kuybyshev Pipeline-Laying Trust has given a socialist pledge to complete the pipeline by the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, half a year ahead of schedule. However, when the muddy wave of Reagan's so-called "sanctions" welled in the United States, the collective reviewed its obligations and resolved to shorten the construction deadline by yet another month, i.e., to complete it by 1 December, so that this very year it plans to couple the pipeline across the Volga with the Tatar section.

The pace of the work is increasing with every passing day. Whereas currently the daily "step" along the entire pipeline is 25 to 27 kilometers, in the very near future, when the swamps will become solidly frozen and work along the entire track and the use of heavy equipment will become possible, the speed will double.

#### Track Rear

When the word "rear" is mentioned in any construction project, many managers take it to mean material and technical support, occasionally forgetting that in this case economic and moral factors are closely interwoven. This includes a broad range of economic problems, social aspects and spiritual requirements and the extent to which they are satisfied. The traditional pile of concepts on the social infrastructure as an allegedly secondary object of attention becomes apparent. We first drill, lay pipes and build gas-pumping stations and then build housing, sociocultural projects and highways. Such a system in developing deposits and laying pipelines has frequently resulted in material and moral losses, triggering great cadre turnover and improper living conditions and lowering labor productivity. The inertia of the "traditional" neglect of social and residential projects has been surmounted in the construction of main gas pipelines during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Naturally, the scale of the projects, the incredibly short time and the high pace of laying the pipeline demanded from the very beginning the solution of economic problems on a modern scientific and technical level, the installation of facilities at the gas deposits and along the pipeline, and radical improvements in material and technical supplies. Whereas with the old organization of labor 200 to 300 linear meters of finished pipeline were lost as a result of all kinds of breakdowns, such as delays in pipe deliveries or spare parts, shortage of equipment or automotive vehicles--today the count is based on kilometers. The cost of time has risen sharply. A different attitude is shown toward the equipment, above all now, under the conditions of the cost-effective comprehensive technological flow. Has there been a worker in difficult Siberian conditions who has not had the occasion to see how many bulldozers, trucks or pipes have been "sunk," wasted or lost? Today matters are different. The flow collective is responsible for everything and now every single bolt is counted and no single part is lost. The equipment is maintained properly, for idling is unprofitable and repairs are expensive.

Today everyone along the track understands that concern for man results in better work. Tally clerks in many sectors say that, thinking of the mood of the people and on the possibility of improving the difficult conditions of



their nomadic life, for example, baths were built and, here and there, also mobile "sauna," labor productivity among mechanizers immediately increased by 12 to 15 percent despite a most intensive labor rhythm.

Here production and social conditions have become so closely interwoven that distinctions between them have become blurred. How to classify, for example, the need for a lightweight shelter for the welder and the welding unit in coupling pipes? The current protective systems are cumbersome and heavy. They are made of tarpaulin and offer no protection from wind and snow.

"They were difficult to move," said welder Nikolay Ivanovich Zarubin, at the Chuvash flow. "The operation took a great deal of effort and time. Yet we knew that we had in the country strong, lightweight and transparent fabrics. A shelter made of them would resolve a number of problems: it would become light, warm and comfortable. Or take our overalls which paralyze our movements, like a leather armor, without protecting us from the wind. Why not make them out of domestic synthetic fabrics which are lightweight and heat-resistant, like those used by our climbers who conquered Mount Everest?"...

The pipeline builders live and work under difficult and unusual conditions. As a rule, the pipelines run through uninhabited areas without clubs, libraries or other types of cultural institutions. Information reaching them is frequently slow. This requires a different approach to the solution of social and living problems. Bearing in mind such a dynamic nature of work, in which the flow advances 6 to 7 kilometers per week, constant traveling even 50 to 100 kilometers would be inexpedient. Daily travel would be quite inconvenient. It was decided to move the people every week or so from the base centers, i.e., to use the shift labor organization method. It was complex, for sometimes the people had to fly or be driven a hundred kilometers, the workers were separated from their families for long periods of time and the problem of leisure time became particular urgent--what to do after work? However, there was no other solution.

Today the situation has changed for the better. The "corridor system" of flow work according to which the collective will work for a period of 5 or 6 years in a given sector has made it possible to build base mobile settlements for construction workers, the so-called trailer towns. Lined up along streets VZhK trailers are set up--collective housing complexes--as well as TsUB--cylinder-shaped general-purpose blocks, i.e., big metal barrels. A variety of communal systems are linked to them, such as central heating, hot and cold water, and sewer lines. In a word, they have all the conveniences and comfort of a town apartment. Such towns have full sociocultural complexes such as a cultural club with various services, a movie theater, cafeteria, stores, medical center, sports premises, stadiums, and kindergartens and schools, wherever necessary, for an effort is made to locate such towns close to the rayon centers or big settlements.

We visited one of these huts in a settlement of the Chuvash flow, inhabited by senior works clerk Yuriy Stepanovich Semenyuk. He was the first to come here, when there were still no trailer cities. Semenyuk had to lay the "foundations" of the city and now he combines his job with a position similar

to that of a mayor, commandant or chief. "I have still not determined what it is that I am," he said, giving us a tired, shy smile. He works from 5 am to 11 pm. At 6 o'clock in the morning a bus leaves for the track. He attends the evening planning session. Furthermore, there are visits by many delegations, artists, writers, journalists and superiors from the trust, the main administration or the ministry. They all must be settled and housed. He must also see to it that the hot lunch has been sent on time to the track along with tea thermoses.

"Can you imagine how I would have been coping with all of this without my family," he says, waving his arms....

His wife Marina, a biologist by training and a graduate of the University in Kuybyshev, has been able to create in this spacious "barrel" the home comfort which calms a person better than any medicine and creates the confidence of having a firm family "backup." Here she works as manager of the club and teaches several hours of biology in the special school attended by their son, who is in the first grade.

"This has indeed resolved many problems of family life," Marina says. "We have our apartment in Kuybyshev. My husband could have come to visit us twice a year. Now we are together. The conditions here are not bad. Naturally, it would be nice for the leisure time to be also free from unsettled household problems, something about which many women in our settlement dream, but not everything can be done all at once. The plan calls for a laundry room, cooking facilities, and many others. The main thing, however, is that such settlements of a modern type have been created, in which living conditions are similar to those in the city. For example, we can communicate with Moscow by telephone in a matter of minutes. Virtually everyone has a television set and we see the same motion pictures as in the city."...

Such a combination of material with moral incentives and concern for the people make miracles. The people realize that even in the most remote area, a little settlement along the track, as long as there is life in it, allows the use of maximal benefits. This is no longer the backwoods, away from the city lights, but a real cultural center.

Such comforts are not to be found everywhere so far. At such a major construction project as gas pipelines a number of problems arise, naturally. They are resolved but not always efficiently. Sometimes the economic organizations find it difficult to keep up with the conquerors of the track and are unable to match their persistence and high pace. In such cases minor inconveniences and confusion arise. The man on the track is energetic, dynamic and temperamental. His energy is constantly seeking a release and he thirsts for activity. However, even such people sometimes sour up as a result of petty inconveniences. They do not expect to be served Siberian pelmeni, but if the tea in the thermos turns out to be cold, if the lunch is late, if the dryer repeatedly breaks down, petty matters such as these irritate and hinder normal work. Let us not forget such "petty" matters. They simply should not exist. The people at today's tracks have cultural standards. They are knowledgeable and their requirements are greater.

One of the most serious "rear" problems along the track today is the system of bonuses to the pipeline builders. The pace at which the track is being opened is such that as yet no flexible system of incentives for highly productive labor has been developed. The essentially new forms of cost-effective unified comprehensive flow do not fit the old instructions of the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Stroybank. For example, the Kuybyshev Pipeline Construction Trust completed its sector of the Urengoy-Petrovsk pipeline 3 months ahead of schedule while the sector along the Urengoy-Novopskov pipeline was completed 9 months ahead of schedule. However, the financial organizations of the Stroybank refused to pay bonuses, claiming that the entire pipeline has not been completed yet.

"How to explain this to the workers?" asks A. V. Leskin, trust party committee secretary. "The competition was organized and such good results were achieved yet there are no returns. This sector of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod pipeline was delivered 7 months ahead of schedule but we are being told that we are advancing too fast. This complicates our work with the people. Life is outstripping instructions and it is time for them to catch up."...

Yes, life makes its corrections to our plans and our concepts on the possibilities of man to make miracles for the sake of a major objective. The pipeline develops in man a special character, gives him the opportunity to become creative. Here time is counted in hours and minutes. A sign of the new times along the track is the comprehensive approach to the solution of all problems: increasing production and creating optimal working and living conditions. It is only in that sense that we can speak of the "rear" of the track. Generally speaking, this is a single entity.

The construction workers along all sections of the track are working with unparalleled enthusiasm. The successes they have achieved do not simplify the task of carrying out the "project of the century" within such a short time. The most complex conditions along the pipeline will test the people's endurance, for each new section must be conquered with toil, with full stress of efforts. They know that tomorrow as well new and even more difficult problems will arise and will be difficult to resolve. However, it is in the nature of the Soviet people to surmount all difficulties. They have passed the "test" of the track.

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## ON THE RAYON LEVEL

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[Article by V. Kadulin]

[Text] The rough and unprepossessing word "rayonshchiki," which 3 decades ago became a durable part of the vocabulary of a "rural essay," has become a commonplace word, with a connotation of good and respectful attitude toward the people engaged in hard work on the decisive--rayon--level of agricultural production management. Much water has passed under the bridge since then and rayon daily life has changed.

However, daily life has always meant work, and persistent, direct and fast advance toward an objective, in which each consecutive step leads to new concerns and problems. Such problems have been added to the rather difficult life of the "rayonshchiki."

As we know, particular significance is ascribed to the rayon level in resolving the difficult and responsible problems set by the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is of particular significance, for in the new unified --centrally and locally--system of management of the country's agroindustrial complex, the emphasis falls precisely on the rayon level, where a truly complete and democratic management organ must be developed, capable of exerting full influence on the production process in accordance with the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is particular because, as was emphasized at the plenum, as always it is the rayon party committees precisely which, as always, must assume the main burden. The new management organs can and must become their reliable assistants in the implementation of the Food Program. The experience acquired in many parts of the country, including Estonia, enables us to say this confidently. The Estonian example is instructive also because tangible results have been achieved in agricultural production intensification in this small republic, without fuss or ostentation.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan the grain crop annual yields here averaged 26.2 quintals per hectare while average annual milk production per cow reached 3,553 kilograms. Today the Estonian SSR produces per 100 hectares of farmland 189 quintals of meat and 790 quintals of milk. The republic is in a leading position in the Soviet Union in these indicators which characterize agricultural intensiveness. To its honor, it achieved this with the lowest direct labor outlays in the country per unit of output of such commodities.

## Facing New Heights

Pyarnuskiy, Vilyandiskiy and Valgaskiy rayons are quite different from each other. This, however, was not immediately apparent and the initial impression was that they were amazingly similar and therefore led to a certain discouragement. Actually, it was the middle of August and the harvest was in full swing in the kolkhoz and sovkhoz fields while the rayon organizations were calm. There were no visitors in reception rooms and halls. Telephones were not ringing in offices. None of the interlocutors looked impatiently at his watch. Telephone cablegrams with a content which was as threatening as ineffective demanding to "intensify," "ensure," or "immediately take all necessary measures," familiar from previous trips to the countryside, could not be found on the desks of the raykom, the association, the sovkhoz office or the kolkhoz board. As though hurling a direct challenge to the rush-order work style was the fact that the first secretaries in Pyarnu, Vilyandi and Valga were enjoying their annual leave.

However, no one would say that the daily work of the Estonian "rayonshchiki" has become an endless, careless holiday. This five-year plan the republic must average 32-33 quintals of grain per hectare. However, nearly one-half of the land intensively cultivated in Estonia is unsuitable for grain crops and potatoes. That is why it is so important systematically to apply scientific crop rotation, make efficient use of each kilogram of chemical fertilizers and considerably increase the amount of organic fertilizer applied to the soil in order to increase its fertility.

The task of increasing feed production and eliminating protein scarcity is exceptionally topical, for the republic is increasing agricultural specialization in meat and dairy animal husbandry. By the end of this five-year plan meat production per 100 hectares of farmland must reach no less than 205 quintals while the average annual milk production must increase to 1.2-1.2 million tons. This means that by the end of 1985 production per cow must not be less than 3,900-4,000 kilograms.

These are no simple tasks. As everywhere else throughout the country, the economic conditions of expanded reproduction have become more complex in the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes as a result of the drastically increased cost of equipment, capital construction and other services to the countryside. These tasks are difficult also because of the shortage of people in the Estonian villages, which is worsened by the fact that the republic's agriculture employs today about 13 percent of the population, which is below the national average by a factor of 1.5. They are difficult also because the extremely adverse weather conditions, particularly in 1978 and 1981, slowed down the growth of agricultural production and adversely affected the profitability of many kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Last year precipitation was triple the normal. Many fields remained unharvested because of so much water. The annual feed production plan was fulfilled by no more than 80 percent. As a result, milk production and the delivery weight of hogs and cattle dropped. Nevertheless, there was no catastrophe. The republic was able to preserve its herds. This year all

rayons fulfilled their hay production plans and a good grain and potato harvest was grown. Therefore, in all likelihood more milk will be available this year compared with the last.

It is annoying to try to catch up with one's own accomplishments yet it is precisely this that the Estonian agricultural workers must do for a number of items. It is sad to realize that this is caused by the still-excessive dependence on the weather. It is also excessive and intolerant because the current availability of material and technical resources in the countryside, the extensive scope of chemization and reclamation, and the experience and knowledge of Estonian farmers make it possible to achieve stable crops even despite major weather deviations. Therefore, one must learn how to implement a maximum program regardless of the weather, as is done in the leading farms. That is the way the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee formulates the problem now.

However, as I. Kh. Kallas, CPE Central Committee agricultural department head, noted, one could be saying from the top, "Come on, come on!" as much as one wishes, no particular success will be achieved if the main work is not developed there, in the rayons.

The people say that man organizes his work and is glorified by it. It is no secret that with matters in the rayon and in the very style of work of the raykom and other organizations and farms a great deal depends on the first secretary. By a lucky coincidence, at the very beginning of my trip, I was able to meet with the leadership of the Pyarnuskiy Rayon party organization. V. Ya. Udam, who was on leave, was preparing for his trip to Czechoslovakia, where he was to speak at a symposium, and it was as a result of this that I was able to reach him. What made meeting him even more pertinent was the fact that he was directly involved in the experimental organization of the Vilyandiskiy cost-effective rayon agricultural association, the first of its kind not only in Estonia but throughout the country, in 1975, and the Pyarnuskiy Rayon agroindustrial association, in 1979.

At its latest 18th congress, the Communist Party of Estonia described the transfer of Val'ter Udam to an economically weaker rayon as an example which had proved its usefulness under the conditions of the republic, of a type of work with leading cadres such as the transfer of first secretaries of party raykoms and chairmen of rayon executive committees from one rayon to another, horizontally, so to say, for purposes of strengthening them. "The style of an experienced leader," noted in this connection K. G. Vayno, Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee first secretary, has already had its impact in this rayon."

The people at the raykom expressed their satisfaction at working with the first secretary. He is humane and does not consider himself better than others. He never raises his voice or shouts an insult. No association would be successful if the first secretary of the party raykom undertakes to resolve all problems by himself. Some first secretaries deal personally even with problems such as sending an instructor to a farm. Val'ter Udam has a different style. He does not exercise petty supervision over anyone. He

gives the work its general direction, after which everyone must be responsible for his own sector and find ways to implement his assignment. I was told at the raykom that it would be rare to see economic managers who have come to resolve some current problems or find themselves in difficulty because of supplies. While trusting the people and encouraging their initiative, the first secretary does not forgive negligence or slackness. What matters to him most, and what he teaches other, is the project itself, the end result, rather than blabbering about the work, paperwork or the number of decisions made with or without reason.

Here is what the first secretary himself says on the meaning and style of party work:

"The job of the raykom is to ensure above all a calm and efficient work atmosphere. The party raykom could create a nervous feeling in the rayon which would make it difficult for the people and would simply make them reluctant to work. A manager, whatever his position, must feel the interest and support of the raykom. There is no question, unsuitable personnel must be removed. However, people should not be urged on with the help of reprimands or the threat of firing them, used like a whip. The administrative stick always has two ends. It strikes at the raykom's authority and deprives the party members in the local areas of initiative.

"Reality has confirmed the effectiveness of the new management method. However, one must know how to use the opportunities it offers. Here nothing comes automatically. I fear very much that here and there the organization of associations may be limited merely to a change in labels or to purchasing new furniture. This is a real danger if rayon cadres are not strengthened and renovated and if those who support the new do not become involved in the management reorganization...."

The party raykom persistently looked for such people in the course of the Vilyandiskiy experiment. Such searches accompanied the establishment of the association in Pyarnu, which was headed by the knowledgeable and energetic Ago Soasepp, who had previously worked as deputy chairman of the Vilyandiskiy association.

Taking into consideration the higher level of the tasks related to agricultural production intensification, the Pyarnuskiy Raykom daringly renovated one-third of the farm management. A great variety of situations developed here: because of poor health some people were no longer able to deal with their obligations; one came to the raykom unasked and honestly said that he was tired; someone else, a good specialist, was simply unsuccessful--he could not become a director; yet another proved to have a bad record. It also became necessary to relieve those who represented the rather popular phenomenon today, which can be described as the "moral aging" of a manager. After holding the same position for 20 or more years, such people occasionally lose their ability creatively to approach the work and to notice new developments. They are trapped by their "nostalgia" for long-gone times or obsolete work styles.

As a rule, management changes entailed cadre changes in other farm management units, particularly in terms of chief specialists. For example, during the first 2 years of operation of the Pyarnuskiy association, 10 chief agronomists, nine chief zootechnicians, seven veterinarians and five chief bookkeepers had to be replaced in 30 rayon farms.

I was told that while the 26th CPSU Congress was being held, two of its delegates belonging to the Estonian party organization--Val'ter Udam and USSR People's Actor Kaarel Ird, chief director at the Vanemuine Theater, had a talk. They agreed on the fact that their respective jobs had a great deal in common, for both the director and the party manager must assign to people the role most suitable to them. The only difference is that errors in the "directing" by the first secretary of the raykom are more costly, for he is dealing not with problems of the stage but with reality, in which correcting errors is considerably more difficult, for which reason cadre problems are always kept in sight by the raykom. It is noteworthy that from the very beginning the secretary resolves them with the help of the Association Council, attentively listening to its views.

It is precisely because the main work is being done in the rayons that the republic approached most thoroughly the problem of organizing in all 15 party raykoms agricultural departments, established in accordance with the decisions of the May plenum. The CPE Central Committee believes that it was able to staff them with knowledgeable and energetic people. The main thing now is for such people to determine their precise position in the new management structure.

This was the topic discussed at the meeting of managers and instructors in the new departments, held in Pyarnu, Vilyandi and Valga. They unanimously agreed that in their work they should in no case take over the jobs of the specialists in the associations or duplicate their activities but should rely above all on the primary party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhoses and on the groups assigned to each departmental instructor. As a rule, today such departments have skilled managers and each farm has several dozen specialists. This is a great force. Unfortunately, it is not always active. Therefore, it is exceptionally important to eliminate the inertia and indifference prevailing among specialists in some farms and to enhance the activeness of all labor collectives without exception.

With the help of the experienced economists, agronomists, zootechnicians and engineers within it, the new raykom structural subdivision can help its bureau to deal skillfully with long-term problems of rayon socioeconomic development and the complex problems of further production intensification and to assist it in assessing more profoundly the results of economic activities. It is no secret that currently such results are frequently judged on the basis of the fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned assignments. However, a deeper study of the matters may prove that the farm is being managed on an extensive basis, at the cost of excessive outlays. The study conducted in Estonia proved, for example, that more than one-half of all farms maintaining the highest production standards had a resource utilization efficiency indicator lower than the republic's average. That is



why it is so important to develop above all in farm managers and specialists a taste for strict economic accounting and their desire and skill constantly to compare outlays with results.

With every passing day the activities of the new rayon departments are increasing. Regardless of the problems they must resolve, however, they can find their place in the common ranks and make a tangible contribution to reaching new levels in agricultural production only in the course of daily thoughtful and careful work with the people, who are the very foundation of all party work.

Whenever the people find themselves in their proper positions through the efforts of the raykom and whenever realistic, understandable and acceptable objectives are given the labor collectives, the work goes well regardless of difficulties. At that point it is no longer necessary to send threatening telegrams by telephone or engage in rushing. At that point it becomes possible for the party raykom to become headquarters for the rayon's political management. And, as we know, headquarters work tolerates no bustle.

#### Strengthening Collectivism

From the very beginning, the initiators and organizers of the economic experiment undertaken in Estonia in the mid-1970s were in favor of the intersectorial "model" of management of the rayon level of the agroindustrial complex. They proceeded from the simple yet frequently ignored truth that agriculture is most closely related to the land, nature and geographic environment. This made particularly unjustified the automatic duplication of the experience of sectorial industrial associations in agricultural production management. A careful study by the organizers of the Estonian experiment of the practical experience of sectorial agricultural associations convinced them that, although it brings some advantages in terms of production specialization and concentration, this kind of management method does not make it possible to take fully into consideration the interests of the rayon as a whole and even makes it less manageable. The party raykom finds it difficult to be concerned with its development under circumstances in which the farms on territories under its jurisdiction are subordinated to a large number of specialized trusts which, furthermore, are unreachable.

The rayon agroindustrial association makes the rural rayon far more manageable. The association makes it possible to rally more closely the entire production and economic potential of the rayon around a single objective.

Thus, production specialization and concentration, based on interfarm cooperation, is developed further within the association. This process has been virtually established in all rayons in poultry farming. It is successfully developing in the production of pork. For example, an interkolkhoz hog farm with a capacity for 4,300 tons of pork annually is working excellently in Pyarnuskiy Rayon. Here labor productivity is quadruple that of standard hog farms and production profitability equals 60 percent. Even more impressive is the six-story-high experimental hog-breeding complex at the base-model sovkhoz-technicum imeni Yu. A. Gagarin in Vilyandiskiy Rayon. The

industrial technology used in the feeding and reproduction buildings are noted by their low labor and feed outlays per unit of finished product and the overall highly economical nature of the production process.

In the past several years about a dozen large dairy farms have been built in Pyarnuskiy Rayon alone. Today they account for 60 percent of the dairy herd. Cattle feeding is being concentrated on an interfarm basis as well. A modern interfarm feeding base is under construction at the Karksi Kolkhoz in Vilyandiskiy Rayon. It will be headed by Hero of Socialist Labor Khel'da Koppel', who is famous throughout the republic. Eventually, she will manage 4,600 head of cattle. So far the first part of the enterprise for 1,200 head has been completed. Two feeding shops--for 200 calves each--are serviced by two cattle handlers and one tractor driver. Only 10 people manage the entire base. Kh. O. Koppel' complains that the daily weight increases are still low, although higher than at kolkhoz livestock farms, averaging 678 grams, whereas 1 kilogram should be reached. There is a shortage of rich and protein-balanced feeds. Matters will improve with the completion of a feed shop which will produce grass briquets enriched with various supplements.

In order for the work to go better, along with feed shops, the rayons are building on an interfarm basis warehouses for storing grain and chemical fertilizers, and grain dryers. This is done with a view to intensifying specialization and upgrading the level of concentration in the production of grain, potato and grass seeds.

An association is a combination, a multiplication of the forces of the partners in the agroindustrial complex. It is therefore entirely logical that participation in the RAPO [Rayon Agroindustrial Association], established in Pyarnuskiy Rayon in January 1979, compared with the Vilyandi experiment. The association included forest farms with which farms owning large forest areas began to cooperate. The two consumer unions in the rayon joined the association, since their purpose was precisely to provide services to rural workers. The association was joined also by the Pyarnu Kalur fishing kolkhoz, which took over as an auxiliary farm the large Pyarnu sovkhoz which had fallen behind because of difficult production conditions.

The creation of associations cannot fail to influence and substantially does influence the style and methods of party work. To this day the raykom fully retains its managing role in the rayon. However, a work style based on orders would be totally out of place here, although possible. The raykom could "take over" the association. However, in such a case the only thing that would remain of the new form of production management would be the name and everything would remain the same. The entire matter is to learn how to work together, jointly, to work while relying on the association without engaging in its petty supervision or taking over its functions.

The association's council approves the annual work plan in which it includes long-range problems. Should differences arise, I was told in Pyarnu, the rayon management tries to avoid imposing its authority and to convince those who disagree at the council's meeting. Once true rather than formal democracy has been secured in the discussions, and once the collective nature of

decision making is truly observed, the moral factor begins to operate quite strongly and the people's initiative increases immeasurably.

Let us admit that to this day some say that with or without the association things would remain the same. The Estonian experience refutes such a viewpoint. The association council is quite authoritative and its decisions carry a great weight. Naturally, departmentalism has not been totally eliminated and it is still quite apparent within the association as well.

Occasionally, sectorial ministries and departments try to restrain the increased gravitation toward economic integration in the rayon. The Valga automotive base which, by the will of the ministry has not joined the RAPO, behaves as a "stranger." Pursuing its unfortunate ton/kilometer objectives, it hauls more willingly heavy gravel for road construction in the neighboring rayon instead of dirty manure which is so greatly needed by the kolkhoz and sovkhoz fields at its doorstep.

However, even the cost-effective organizations and enterprises, which service agriculture and process its produce and are within the association, are motivated by the existing system for planning and assessing their activities, considering above all not the interests of the producers of grain, potatoes, meat and milk but their own profitability and profits. So far, economically they are totally uninterested in the end results of agricultural production.

All this is true. However, something else is true as well. The association helps the party raykom substantially to limit departmental egotism, which is the opposite of socialist collectivism, and to motivate enterprises belonging to different sectors to subordinate to a considerably greater extent their activities to the common interests. It also helps to cure the group egotism of rich and prosperous farms, some of which complacently assume that they are privileged. Such feelings, which are still quite prevalent, were frankly expressed at the time that the Vilyandiskiy experiment was being organized: the chairman of one of the kolkhozes stated that he needed no association whatever and that he could build all he needed, including an airfield if necessary.

Today it is far easier for a rayon in Estonia to manage also because, in addition to the Association Council, it has councils in charge of coordinating economic activities and engaging in educational work in the microrayons or, as they are still called, the production zones. Each such microrayon consists of three or four neighboring farms and its center is a historically developed large or small town with a population from 300 to 3,000. The establishment of a zonal center took into consideration the network of roads, the agro-economic potential of its farms and other factors. Pyarnuskiy Rayon, which is the largest in Estonia, has nine zones; Vilyandiskiy has eight; and the outlying Valgaskiy Rayon, which is the smallest, has four.

Initially, when the Vilyandiskiy association was being established, base farms were named with the intention of assigning them roughly the functions of head enterprises in industrial firms. The idea was abandoned at the creation of the Pyarnuskiy and Vilyandiskiy associations. One of the main

reasons was the fact that the existence of a base farm, which was assigned the role of leader in the zone, hurt the pride of the neighbors, lowered their initiative and introduced in relations a cold feeling of alienation, although not always noticeable. Now all farms in the microrayon are equal. This has improved their unity. Incidentally, this unity is also helped by common local folk customs and old and new traditions. Pyarnu and the other rayons also abandoned the parallel establishment of two councils in the zone --economic and that of secretaries of primary party organizations--although both had greatly contributed to the success of the Vilyandiskiy experiment. Life is indivisible! Now, the zone has a single council headed by the manager of one of the farms with the secretary of the party organization of the same farm acting as his deputy.

By rallying the working people in their farms, the microrayons, which resemble the grid of atoms in a crystal, strengthen the rayon's political, social and economic unity. The rayon party committee has in the rayon council a base for its daily work, which actively helps to implement decisions. The microrayon also provides a reliable feedback without which no management system can operate. In this sense the party leadership is no exception. The microrayon also means the growth of local enterprises and initiative, so highly valued by Lenin.

In the microrayon the socialist competition substantially loses its "paper" character, which was so difficult to eliminate when it was organized within the framework of the rayon alone. It was difficult, for the participants in the competition competed under unequal conditions. In a large rayon such as Pyarnuskiy, for example, differences in the assessment of land fertility among individual farms may reach as high as 14 points. The result was that those whose land was more fertile have higher yields with less labor outlays and, with the help of Mother Nature, easily outstrip its less lucky rivals. What kind of competition was that? Competition presumes equal conditions and, therefore, comparability of results! Results are comparable precisely in production areas in which differences in terms of soil and other natural conditions are minor. At this point the quality of the work of the competitors, the level of labor and production organization and a business sense assume a decisive importance. In such a case the competition becomes an effective method for the application of progressive experience.

In this case the zonal commissions and the rayon staff in charge of organizing the competition display a great deal of initiative and inventiveness. One could simply have a meeting at which the results of the sowing campaign are summed up and bonuses awarded to the winners. One could also rent an airplane to see from high up the smoothness with which the fields were plowed and sowed. Thus, at the end of last June, Pyarnuskiy Rayon held a mechanizer day which was attended by about 120 people. A rally was organized at the Pyarnu-Yaagupi microrayon, at the Khalinga kolhkoz. The trade union had purchased 48 tickets, as a result of which few of the candidates could be seated in the An-2 which was rented from the foresters and which had seats for 12 passengers. The flight over the fields, which had a strictly prosaic and training purpose, was also a form of reward of those who had distinguished themselves in the socialist competition. It was also interesting, looking

down from the airplane, to exchange impressions with one's neighbor on the results of their work. Such an interesting holiday was also a means of paying one's respect to the people on whom the fate of the harvest depends.

The all-rayon livestock breeder days, regularly held in all production zones and the training days for livestock farm workers held in the individual farms are organized on a thoughtful rather than formal basis. Naturally, it is both useful and interesting to spend the entire day outside, in the sovkhos, instead of at a meeting, where no fresh fodder is delivered to the livestock farm in the summer, for the cattle are grazing on cultivated and properly planted pastures. After hearing, sitting in a shady park, the reports submitted by association and farm specialists in the zone, the milkmaids go to the pasture to look at the well-fed and cared-for sovkhos cows, not restrained by any kind of protocol, animatedly discussing practical fine points involved in their difficult work. Back home, the participants frequently recall with pleasure the aromatic coffee served, the amateur concert and the bouquet of flowers presented to the labor competition winners.

In general, today the party raykom rarely summons the people to conferences or for participation in one measure or another at the rayon center. Such meetings are held in one of the farms within the production zones. Such meetings are prepared by the council in charge of coordinating economic activities and educational work in their respective area. Active work is also done by the voluntary propaganda council guided by the party raykom. Thus the microrayons make it possible for the party committee to broaden the range and steadily to update and improve forms of party and economic training and all education work, the final objective of which is to unite the people in a single combat-capable labor collective of like-minded people.

Nature itself subjected the strength of collectivism, which developed in the course of the reorganization of management on the rayon level, which was extended starting with January 1979 to the economically weak Pyarnuskiy Rayon, to a lengthy and severe test. Here the entire second half of the summer of 1977 was rainy. In 1978, as a result of the endless rain which had drowned the fields, the rayon was unable to harvest 50 percent of its grain and 60 percent of its potato areas. Once again, in 1980, poor weather tried the rayon farmers. In terms of weather conditions 1981 as well was hardly different from the difficulties of the still-memorable 1978.

However, economic relations among the members of the association strengthened. The people worked with greater unity and confidence, believing in the success of the daringly initiated changes. No more than 2 years following the creation of the association, the rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoszes reached the average republic level in grain production per hectare, despite reduced deliveries of chemical fertilizers. During the first 2 years milk production per cow increased by 324 kilograms, a figure which enabled the rayon, which was still behind yesterday, to reach the average republic level. Even last year, which was most difficult, milk production exceeded 3,500 kilograms. The total profits of the rayon agrindustrial association reached 24 million rubles, including 14 million by the kolkhozes and sovkhoszes.

## Substantiated Altruism

The tangible progress of the farms, which only yesterday were among the lagging and which the rayon agroindustrial association was able to help to stand back on their own feet, had something to do with the successes achieved in the fact that agricultural production in the rayon developed at a pace higher than the republic's average. The lagging farms in Estonia consider today the easily found reserves for increasing agricultural output of primary importance in ensuring their economic upsurge. Actually, quite frequently some rayon farms would average 40 quintals per hectare, compared with 15 to 20 quintals elsewhere. It is obvious that it is far more difficult to exceed 40 quintals compared with 20. That is why, the first thing after the creation of the Pyarnu association was to deal with the lagging farms. At that time the rayon had four kolkhozes and five sovkhoses whose production intensiveness was below the rayon's average. The lagging of the farms was determined on the basis of profitability, size of milk production, yields and a number of other indicators. In 1978, on the eve of the creation of the association, production profitability in the nine farms averaged 8.9 percent compared with 25.7 percent for the rayon at large. In seven of the nine, average milk production per cow was under 3,000 kilograms. This was one of the important reasons for which Pyarnuskiy Rayon was in 10th place in the republic in milk production at that time. In 1979 only four farms produced less than 3,000 kilograms of milk per cow and subsequently no such farm could be found. What had happened?

A farm can fall behind as a result of a number of objective and subjective reasons. It is no secret, however, that as a rule such farms have less fertile land and less productive capital. Usually their working conditions are worse and earnings are lower than in economically strong and highly profitable kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The social infrastructure as well is less developed in the lagging farms. For such reasons, their cadres are less skilled and there is an acute shortage of specialists, mechanizers and livestock breeders.

The association can exert its influence above all in terms of equalizing farming conditions in the rayon. In Estonia the procedure of setting up and using centralized association funds, distinct from the standard recommended procedure, has become a flexible and powerful tool for such influence.

"If we were to start withholding for the association's fund some of the profits based on their amount earned by a given farm," convincingly says V. A. Soomets, deputy chairman of the Vilyandiskiy RAPO, "we would be penalizing properly working collectives, for the more profitable they are the more money they should deposit in the centralized funds, while weak and lagging farms may develop parasitical feelings. That is why we have adopted the method of differentiated withholding from profits based on a computer-assessed normative economic management coefficient."

The method used in setting up centralized funds is quite simple. Based on the normative economic management level, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have been classified into six groups (another--a seventh--consists of farms under

double jurisdiction and whose withholdings go only into the material incentive fund). The first group includes only a single economically very strong farm, the best in the rayon in terms of available manpower and productive capital, with a highly profitable sale structure. This applies to the base-model sovkhos-technicum imeni Yu. A. Gagarin, located not far from the rayon center. The coefficient of the fund for this sovkhos is 2.5, compared with 0.5 for the sixth group of farms. This means that they will deposit to the common fund per hectare of cultivated land a sum less by a factor of 5 when compared with the sovkhos-technicum. This procedure enables us to assess more accurately the results of economic activities and to encourage the search of internal reserves for production growth by the collective, for the amount paid to the centralized funds remains unchanged even after the farm has earned additional profits. As in the past, this amount remains unchanged even when the result of economic activities proves to be below the norm. In such a case, however, the collective is economically penalized for errors and blunders in its work.

The association encourages the interest of the farms in the progress of the rayon as a whole. Under such circumstances, the noble altruism contained in the slogan "No One Must Lag!" assumes solid organizational and economic foundations. It is on this basis that we respect the interest of the leading farms as well. The policy of capital investments exercised by the association council is aimed at ensuring normal conditions for expanded reproduction in all rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses. At the same time, the accelerated development of lagging farms stimulates the overall increase in agricultural production in the rayon, for no labor collective wants to fall behind. It is thus that the economically substantiated altruism gives a new meaning and new scope to socialist competition.

Throughout Estonia all party raykoms have drafted long-term comprehensive plans for improving the economies of lagging farms. The purposeful policy of utilizing the centralized association funds plays a tremendous role in their implementation.

The RAPO councils allocate hundreds of thousands of rubles out of such funds to finance capital construction and replenish working capital shortages experienced by lagging farms.

The difficulties of such farms are largely caused by the fact that they usually fail to cope with seasonal work peaks, such as sowing, hay mowing, or grain harvesting. The economic stimulation of such operations is particularly important in this case. However, lacking adequate funds, the farms are unable to pay the people the promised bonuses for dedicated work in the heat of the season. This increases cadre turnover and adversely affects labor discipline. That is why the managers of lagging farms so gratefully spoke of the way the aid of the association has helped them to award bonuses to such workers and substantially changed the mood in the collective for the better.

Having the right to handle a considerable share of the resources allocated to the rayon, the RAPO councils now distribute them in accordance with the needs of the lagging, underprofitable and losing farms. It is such farms that

receive on a priority basis powerful, highly productive and particularly scarce equipment. "Previously it was the strongest sovkhoses which took everything," says Peyep Aru, head of the Vilyandiskiy raykom agricultural department, noting with satisfaction the improved equalization of economic conditions in the rayon, listing in detail the extremely specific items in the plan for aid to losing sovkhoses. The implementation of this plan means that, compared with other farms, they will be receiving 15 percent more chemical fertilizers and 10 percent more mixed fodder, that their areas in reclaimed and comprehensively restored land will be increased by hundreds of hectares and that industrial and housing construction in such farms will be continued on a broad basis.

The thoroughly drafted plans for aid to lagging farms also reflect the activities of the staffs in charge of organic fertilizer set up under the rayon party committees. One should not rely on the possibility of receiving substantially higher amounts of chemical fertilizers in the immediate future. Taking this harsh reality into consideration, the republic has seriously and actively undertaken to deal with the problem of organic fertilizer. For example, during the first 2 years of the existence of the association alone, the production and utilization of organic fertilizer was increased by 30 percent in Pyarnuskiy Rayon. This faster growth continues to take place in the lagging farms. Currently, every year 13 tons of organic fertilizer are used per hectare of farmland, a figure which will be raised to 20 tons in the future.

Sponsorship is assigned a major role in the party's plans for improving the economy of lagging farms. Currently ever-new enterprises and organizations in a great variety of industrial sectors in the republic are becoming actively involved in such work. This is a mark of the noticeably changed general attitude toward the needs of the rural workers as of last May.

E. E. Aamer, who was appointed chief agronomist at the Keeni sovkhos in March 1980 on the recommendation of the Valgaskiy party raykom, and sovkhos director the following January, the seventh consecutive director, took over a difficult legacy. The chief specialists--the zootechnicians, the mechanic and the agronomist--were also the seventh consecutively appointed officials. The sovkhos had been losing money for 15 years. In 1981, however, it earned its first 132,000 rubles' profit.

"The sponsors helped us a great deal with personnel and equipment," gratefully said the director in describing the way encouraging changes were achieved in the farm's economy. "Today we have become something like a branch enterprise of our sponsors. Every Tuesday we report to Tallin on the state of affairs."

The sovkhos has a number of sponsors: the republic's Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry, the furniture combine in Narva and the design-technological bureau. The sovkhos is being helped by the local furniture factory as well. What makes their aid even more tangible is the fact that the farm is suffering from an acute shortage of skilled cadres, mechanizers and milkmaids.



The daily work in Valgaskiy Rayon--one of the worst in the republic in terms of farming conditions--is made extremely complex by the picturesque hills, either wooded or covered with golden ripe wheat, so pleasing to look at. Forty percent of the cultivated area in the rayon is hilly, which causes substantial additional labor and fund outlays. The cultivation of such "domes" is very hard: depending on the slope, the grain ripens at different times and the steepness is such that there have been cases of tractors tipping over. If it rains shouts for help are heard: the foothills are like a sea and no tractor can climb up the slopes. During the past 10 years agricultural production profitability in the rayon has not exceeded 11 percent on an average. During the past five-year plan all 18 rayon farms combined had profits slightly in excess of 3 million rubles. To this day one-half of these farms are among the lagging. Average sovkhos wages are still substantially lower than in industry and no comparison even can be made between working and living conditions of the rural and the urban population. In terms of manpower as well the rayon is in one of the last positions in the republic.

That is why urban aid is so highly valued here and such great efforts are being made to organize successful sponsorship work. That is also why the party raykom and the association are so greatly concerned with upgrading its quality and efficiency.

The rayon has abandoned the system of planning the amount of sponsorship work in terms of man/days. This indicator does not show in the least whether or not town residents, taken away from their regular jobs, worked at the farm or merely strolled along this picturesque area. Now the RAPO plans for specific types of sponsorship work in physical work: clearing a certain area of rocks, procuring a specific number of tons of hay and straw, or harvesting a specific number of hectares planted in flax or potatoes. Last year, for example, the sponsors removed rocks from an area totaling 6,485 hectares although, it is true, they fulfilled no more than 75 percent of their plan.

"Nevertheless, we are pleased," says V. A. Breganov, second secretary of the Valgaskiy party raykom, in describing the great worries of the raykom and the association. "We are pleased because this aid is real, tangible."

The secretary regrets that so far they have been unable to implement an idea which took the raykom a long time to develop: converting the rayon's industrial enterprises to a 10-month work system. In one month the workers and employees in these enterprises could do a great deal to help the kolkhoz and sovkhos working people during the peak of the season. The hay procurement plan, for example, could be fulfilled with the first mowing. Furthermore, a regularly spent month in the countryside by town residents would bring variety into their lives. As it is, they have forgotten even how to mow. Is this good? The raykom is convinced that the experiment would prove justified as was the system of collective leave, which was tested in Estonia.

However, sponsorship aid is not unlimited and nor is the financial and material and technical aid which the rayon agroindustrial associations give the lagging farms omnipotent. Above all, additional capital investments and

major manpower and material outlays may prove to be wasted if such farms maintain a low level of production and labor management and organization. A lagging farm may be given highly productive purebred dairy livestock. However, if its livestock farm lacks even basic order, and if the people do their work indifferently, the animals would soon find themselves at the meat combine.

That is why the comprehensive plans for aid to lagging farms includes an extensive part of so-called organizational measures. It is a question of strengthening such farms with cadres of managers and specialists and strengthening and expanding their party organizations. It is also a question of creating permanent party groups in all basic farm production sectors and organizing temporary groups wherever and whenever necessary.

The raykom plans are drafted by people of different ages and previous experience, character and other professional or personnel qualities. However, all of them are knowledgeable and energetic people, who can resolve problems by themselves and work without prompting, people who know how to unite the collective and to lead it.

... His name is well-known in Estonia. He is the son of a peasant and spent many years as a journalist. At one point, however, Kalev Raave changed professions, going to the countryside in answer to the party's call and for almost 15 years managed a small but, he says, strong farm. In January 1981 this already elderly person sent a letter to the Communist Party of Estonia congress, requesting that he be sent back to work in the countryside.

Kalev Raave was sent to the Kommunist Sovkhoz--one of the most difficult farms in the difficult Valgaskiy Rayon. He took over in March and by April the sovkhov already celebrated pensioner's day, attended by more than 100 people. A third of them responded to the persuasive request of the director to help the farm stand up on its feet as best they could. Several housewives joined as well and some specialists who had left were talked into returning.

The sovkhov began to improve and Kalev Raave became a zealous supporter of the use of the brigade contracting method in underprofitable and manpower-short rayon farms, initiated by the party raykom. The possibility of not only earning substantial additional income but working independently motivates the mechanizers' brigade, which has adopted the contracting method, to work most conscientiously. The sovkhov completed its sowing campaign on 20 May, but the brigade had finished on 9 May. Its grain harvest was good. The harvest proved to be the highest over the past 10 years--21.6 quintals per hectare. Last year the sovkhov averaged 17 quintals. Excellent work was also done by the hay-mowing brigade, which harvested 6,600 quintals of hay, or 2,000 more than planned, overfulfilled its haylage plan by 2,500 quintals and procured a total of 11,000 quintals of haylage. Encouraged by the initially successful experiments, the sovkhov decided to set up one more such mechanizers' brigade and apply the contracting method in one of its livestock farms.

The sovkhos party organization has made a great contribution to the initial successes. One out of every five workers in the sovkhos is a party member. Let us take the example of the large Myanniku livestock farm: until very recently--in 1980 and the first half of 1981--it held, respectively, the last and the penultimate place in the rayon. Last April it was entrusted to party member Tiya Unt. In the course of the year the livestock farm emerged as one of the 10 leading farms in the rayon. Last year milk production here increased by 400 kilograms; in August 1982 it increased by yet another 450 and another 200 kilograms will be added by year's end. Today the Myanniku livestock farm is among the best in the view of the raykom and the rayon party group headed by Brigitta Vasnapuu--"an amazing woman"--according to the director. On the initiative of the party group the cows were tended twice rather than once daily. Last winter, when the farm fell short of fodder because of the rainy summer, the party group suggested to the farm brigade leader to focus his main attention on the cattle handlers rather than the milkmaids to whom one usually turns when discussing milking. Matters improved. "Our work consists of such petty matters and simple affairs," the director concluded.

However, the attention, even the small attention paid to worker initiative, is no petty matter. Nor is thanking a person for doing an honest job a waste of time. The fact that the invitation issued by the party and trade union organization at the Kommunist Sovkhos, asking labor veterans to attend pensioner's day is elegantly printed on good paper and that it includes a reminder to the elderly of the bus schedules, as well as the fact that a radio concert for the participants was organized on the eve of the meeting, is important. Every sovkhos worker receives a greeting card on his birthday. The farm solemnly celebrates the birth of new citizens, whose parents are presented with flowers and gifts. The sovkhos also participates in funerals, assuming all expenses and concerns inevitably related to such sad events.

Thinking of the future, the director visits the school for a respectful talk with the children who are the future workers.

"We have merely taken the initial steps," says Kalev Raave calmly. "Work is needed. Much must be built. We are 300 kilometers away from Tallin but wherever they may be, the people want to live like human beings. We must do everything possible to achieve this on this very land."...

#### Man on the Land

The problem can be formulated simply: people are needed to do the work. The shortage of cadres means reduced exigency toward the level of organization of the work and forced tolerance of discipline violators. More people in the village means more feed and more produce even with the same amount of feed. The Estonian kolkhozes and sovkhoses are short of milkmaids. Labor shortages in the livestock farms prevents them from having substitute milkmaids, so that the people could rest normally and take their proper leave, rather than leave the farm, as happens because of abnormal working conditions which cannot be compensated merely by high earnings and bonuses. As one of the "rayonshchiki" accurately pointed out, "it would be bad for all of us if managers have to be sent to the livestock farms to milk the cows."

The Estonian experience proves that increasing the manpower in the countryside is not so unrealistic an objective as the pessimists assume. Statistics prove that in recent years more people have gone into agriculture than have left it in the republic. It is true that the number of pensioners in the countryside was higher than that of regular workers. However, this proves the complexity rather than the utopian nature of the task of surmounting manpower shortages and optimizing migration processes. Furthermore, the reasons for migration and the factors which trigger it may be quite different.

Despite all of its successes, Pyarnuskiy Rayon cannot be described as prosperous as yet. However, it has been able to eliminate the negative balance in the migration of the rural population. So far the balance has been positive in no more than a few farms. It is noteworthy, however, that today urban citizens come to look for work even at the Tystamaa, the most lagging sovkhos in the rayon, agreeing to settle in abandoned farmhouses which they repair themselves. The people are increasingly realizing that in many cases it is easier to lead a normal life in the countryside than in the city. Furthermore, the prestige of farmwork has substantially increased among young people, as confirmed by the high number of applicants for the Estonian agricultural academy, something which, despite its long years of meritorious work, it had previously failed to achieve.

A great deal has been and is being done for the farm worker in Estonia. Compared with 1965 the average monthly wage of sovkhos workers and employees was higher by a factor of 2.6 and kolkhoz member earnings from the public farm by a factor of 3.2 in 1981. A total of 2.9 million square meters of housing, children's preschool institutions for 12,300 children, and clubs and houses of culture with 14,500 seats have been built in the countryside.

A great deal has been done, particularly in the progressive and highly profitable farms. For many years, one of them has been the Edazi Kolkhoz in Pyarnuskiy Rayon. It is an extremely rare occasion for people to leave this farm, which has been headed for the past 13 years by Vello Prints, who was awarded the Order of the October Revolution for work results during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Those who leave are people who are unable to tolerate order and discipline. A far greater number of people would like to join the Edazi Kolkhoz, whose name in Estonian means "forward." It is indeed true that the kolkhoz has taken a substantial lead in its socioeconomic development. Last year the farm's turnover was 4.5 million rubles with a net income of 1.5 million. Production profitability here is substantially higher than in other farms, averaging 48.9 percent. There is an explanation for such high figures: the kolkhoz specializes in the production of grain, grass and, to a minor extent, potato seeds. It developed many years ago perennial cultivated meadows and pastures. It applies the fertilizer to the soil whenever necessary and in the required amounts. Hence its high yields: 42 quintals of grain during the extremely poor 1981 and 73 quintals of dry hay (several mowings) per hectare.

Together with bonuses, average payments per labor day in the kolkhoz was 11 rubles last year. Nevertheless, it is not merely wages which has tied people firmly to the kolkhoz. Sociological studies conducted in the republic

have shown that the wage level holds third or fourth position among the reasons for which people may leave the countryside. To an increasingly frequent and large extent they leave because of poor living conditions and, compared with urban facilities, the relatively low quality of medical, cultural and all other services. In this respect as well the situation in the Edazi Kolkhoz is good.

Today the kolkhoz is successfully competing with industrial enterprises in the areas of labor industrialization and improved conditions and organization. For the past 7 years its personnel has had 2 free days a week, even at the peak of the harvest and the planting season. In animal husbandry the work has been organized on the basis of a sliding schedule. Naturally, during the season, the people work from dawn to dusk. They work on their own initiative and as much as the work requires it, for it is indeed the season! However, it takes more than fervor and dedication to convert to a 5-day work week. In order to accomplish this, the farm must have a full staff of properly skilled workers and all the necessary equipment. Therefore, it will be a long time before many farms can organize a 5-day work week. However, the urgency for it in the countryside is becoming increasingly great. This reflects the growth of the social requirements of agricultural workers.

"There should be no work Saturdays and Sundays!" firmly says Vello Prints. "People are people. The older ones have their family concerns and the young would like to have a good time. Are kolkhoz boys and girls any worse than those of the cities? Furthermore, virtually everyone has his own private plot which also takes time. If they are not given this time the people will take it from their regular hours or gravitate toward the city."

A high standard in the organization of production processes strengthens the ties linking the rural worker with the land and increases the attractiveness of agricultural work among the youth. Furthermore, it is no simple matter for a person to leave his beautiful own house, built by the kolkhoz, after he has paid for half of its cost, the more so since the other half can be paid on easy terms: a 20 percent down payment when the house is finished while the remaining 30 percent is repayable over 20 years.

In the case of housing shortages in the countryside, the people are rather unwilling to live in "hostels," as two-story 12-apartment houses are known. Khaynar Loyk, the experienced chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Ya. Lyakhov, Valgaskiy Rayon, describes them as "bad cities in the countryside." However, a farm which, after working at a loss, has earned its first several hundred thousand rubles in profits, and bears the burden of long-term and short-term unpaid loans, cannot at that point allow itself to build individual homes. The mathematics here are simple: a separate house costs 33,000 rubles, while a three-room apartment in a "hostel" costs nearly one-third that.

"One could live and work normally on the land!" The kolkhoz leader again and again takes up the problem of manpower shortages, the solution of which is the focal point of all activities on the rayon level. "But the land must be helped! Human life is the same, whether a person is a worker or kolkhoz member!"

This is an entirely proper formulation of the problem. Actually, the rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhoses are faced with the problem of increasing their profitability. Many of them have no idea how to pay their debts. They save the kopeks to improve the settlement. Meanwhile, enterprises located on the same land and part of the same association, processing their products and earning millions of rubles, take no part at all in the development of the rural social infrastructure. Such profits leave the rayon. The industrial partners of the farms virtually do not participate in forming the centralized funds of the association. But how much could the 18 Valgaskiy Rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses withhold for such funds if their total annual income, as we pointed out, is no more than 3 million rubles?

The entire Estonian population is also quite excited by the school problem. In its time, the republic's Ministry of Education closed down many rural schools, primary above all, on the basis of the lowered number of grades as a result of migration and, on this basis, the need to consolidate and improve the quality of education. However, everything went smoothly on paper only. Meanwhile, in the case of people who were unable to tolerate the need to send their children to school several dozen kilometers away, began to leave their familiar places. Fifteen years ago there were about 100 schools in Pyarnuskiy Rayon. Today 34 remain. Both the party raykom and the association must work hard to reopen at least some of them. In Valgaskiy Rayon as well five sovkhos centers are without a school. The practice of establishing interfarm kindergartens proved to be as unprofitable as the consolidation of rural schools, for the parents prefer to take personally their children to the kindergarten rather than have them transported there. That is why the building of complexes in the countryside, combining a kindergarten with a grammar school, is justified. That is the reason for which today the increased demands of rural workers are being considered more closely on the rayon level.

It is obviously unrealistic to meet such requirements within the limits of the individual farms, the more so since in a republic such as Estonia, where the farmstead type of settlement has long become established. That is why the intensive establishment of a developed social infrastructure here is taking place in the centers of the production zones we mentioned.

The personnel of the Vilyandiskiy party raykom would like to see all zonal centers in the rayon resemble the Nuya settlement. It is a beautiful village, drowned in vegetation, quite similar to a properly cared for resort town. A new general store and a cafeteria which becomes a restaurant in the evening border a cozy main square. Also located here are a furniture store, post office and a consumer service combine. Nuya has its house of culture, a pharmacy and a dispensary. An interfarm polyclinic will be built in the settlement soon. Through joint efforts the addition to the eighth-grade school has turned it into a secondary school. Again constructed on a cooperative basis, there is a sports complex next to the school, which includes a sports stadium, an indoor hall of proper dimensions and an indoor swimming pool. Something else should be noted: it was worth initiating in Nuya extensive construction, for the individual owners, having faith in the future of the settlement, undertook to renovate and to improve their homes and yards.

However, the center of the microrayon does not represent new housing or commercial and service enterprises. It also means increased opportunities for human communication. This applies to youth clubs in which new forms of Komsomol work are being developed, where young specialists meet to discuss common interests, and where boys meet girls--many meetings in such clubs end in marriages. This also means more active physical culture and sports, for sports facilities located on the territory of the microrayon are used by all residents, regardless of "departmental" affiliation.

Sometimes all of this is considered a second plan for life. Not much is being said about it. All of this, however, as May Kolosova, Pyarnuskiy party raykom second secretary, firmly believes, is most directly related to the party management of the economy and to ideological work. Social, cultural and sports life in the microrayon is a feeling of closeness among the rural workers and the development of a feeling of ownership of the land. People cannot be taught to love their homeland in general. They must begin by loving the land on which they were born and grew up.

The example of Estonia, as that of other republics in which rayon agroindustrial associations have been extensively tested at length, convincingly prove the great opportunities and the tangible real impact which the new form of management has on rural socioeconomic progress. However, this experience also shows that so far the rayon level, although substantially strengthened, has been unable to develop the necessary interest and responsibility on the part of all enterprises and organizations which service agriculture in high end results and totally eliminate centrifugal narrow departmental trends in their activities, encouraged by the double jurisdiction under which they operate.

Unquestionably, even now a great deal more could be accomplished on the rayon level if the rayon did not have to compensate for breakdowns in the work done "above," at a cost of substantial losses and additional labor and fund outlays, or the "sideways" attitude of management units. Such breakdowns are largely due to the sluggish power of inertia, the weakening of performing discipline and a substantial decline in the feeling of responsibility. This can be accomplished on the rayon level the more so the sooner it becomes possible to put an end to obstructions in its work, created by imperfections in the planning and material and technical procurement systems, the practice of price setting, the lower quality of the equipment supplied to the countryside and the lack of order in capital construction. A situation under which agricultural workers, who must concentrate on supplying the country with abundant food products, are forced, as they say, to pay for the pots broken by their partners, should be tolerated no longer.

The Estonian experience lets us hope that many of the difficulties which have existed so far in the work on the rayon level can be surmounted within the framework of the cost-effective republic agroindustrial association, a "model" of which is being actively developed in the republic today. The creation and experimental testing of the new "model" of management, this time on the republic level, is no simple matter, naturally, but is something which

is very necessary to the country. It involves a large number of organizational, legal and economic problems. The solution of many of them is part of the overall effort to improve the economic mechanism, something which, unfortunately, is still being pursued with inadmissible slowness in the country.

"Work is needed!" This is a favorite statement on the part of Ago Soasepp, chairman of the Pyarnuskiy agroindustrial association. "Work is needed!" says Kalev Raave, Kommunist Sovkhoz director, thinking of the future. The reasons may be different but the same statement is being made with equal concern by Estonian farm managers, raykom secretaries, instructors in recently established raykom agricultural departments, association specialists and senior officials in central republic organs.

This brief sentence has become proverbial for the taciturn Estonian peasant with his age-old industriousness. It conceals an objection to the common references to objective reasons, whims of nature or inexpediency of the economic mechanism in justifying one's own idleness and negligence, and mental and spiritual laziness.

This brief statement, which is being heard with increasing frequency, is the order of the day. It also encompasses the future of our countryside and our entire economy.

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## CONCEPT OF INTERSECTORIAL COST-EFFECTIVENESS AND ITS APPLICATION IN THE AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences T. Muranivskiy, published as a basis for discussion]

[Text] Cost-effectiveness and economic levers play an important role in the system of planned social production management under socialism. The 26th CPSU Congress called for the all-round development and strengthening of cost-effectiveness on the basis of the economic strategy formulated by the party and the basic stipulations on improving the economic management mechanism and methods. As cost-effectiveness expands and intensifies, it acquires a deeper meaning. Currently new cost-effective relations are being extended to sectors, brigades, shops, enterprises, associations and sectorial ministries. Cost-effectiveness covers scientific research and design and engineering organizations. However, under certain conditions, a breakdown may take place within the system of economic interests of different cost-effective units or a clash between state and departmental interests. For example, the interest of society in increasing production efficiency and quality may clash with the interests of individual enterprises or departments based on the simple quantitative increase in volumes of output, in their efforts to earn their profits by any means. This frequently leads to violations of the socialist principles of economic management. A number of conflicts are triggered by the fact that in establishing cost-effective units the complex system of criss-crossing interdependencies and relations among sectors within the single national economic complex is not always taken into consideration.

Particularly topical in this connection is the development of methods for the use of cost-effectiveness which would ensure a rapprochement among the economic interests of different enterprises and departments and society at large. This is the purpose of the concept of intersectorial cost-effectiveness, which calls for the establishment of new types of cost-effective units, which would include groups of juridically autonomous enterprises (associations) under different departmental jurisdiction yet jointly participating in the production of a specific type of finished product (regardless of the meaning invested in this category). Favorable opportunities for the use of this concept are provided by the conversion earmarked in the Food Program to the planning and management of agroindustrial complexes as integral entities.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said at the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum that "we must compare all practical activities along this important economic sector with the Food Program." Under the new circumstances intersectorial cost-effectiveness becomes one of the most efficient means for the solution of the problems formulated at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum of surmounting contradictions and bringing closer to each other the interests of the individual sectors within the agroindustrial complex in order to reach high end results in agricultural production.

#### Financial-Economic Relations Among Units Within the Agroindustrial Complex

As the May plenum resolutions note, upgrading the efficiency of agricultural production and all sectors in the agroindustrial complex, the central unit within which are the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, is one of the most important tasks. The plenum formulated particularly urgently the question of assessing the work of Sel'khoztekhnika and construction, reclamation, procurement and other organizations servicing agriculture on the basis of end agricultural production results. In his report on the Food Program L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the assessment of the work of these organizations and awarding bonuses to their managers and specialists will be based, along with the performance of services, on the results of agricultural production and output. Bonuses and high wages will be paid for increased production of grain, meat and milk and increased food deliveries. Should such indicators decline, managers and specialists in the organizations servicing kolkhozes and sovkhozes will receive no bonuses."

How could it happen that Sel'khoztekhnika and the other servicing organizations, which were created for the purpose of improving matters in agriculture, were able to prosper and secure a profitable existence for themselves even when the kolkhozes and sovkhozes they serviced worked at a loss? In our view, this is explained above all by the fact that the striving of such organizations toward profits conflicted with the interests of their purpose and became a self-seeking objective. Union and republic associations and departments included in the plans of their subordinate organizations servicing agriculture assignments related to profits and amounts of payments to the budget and withholdings for economic incentive funds. In order to fulfill their plans, these organizations were forced at all cost (frequently, as we know, to the detriment of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes they serviced) to "earn" profits by resorting to a kind of commercial resourcefulness: to accomplish less but obtain more, and to sell to those who would pay more. For example, they would supply a kolkhoz with spare parts and would charge additionally for services they failed to perform.

Contradictions also exist in the financial-economic relations between agricultural production and the processing sectors. For example, cotton-growing farms do everything possible for their raw cotton to be given a higher grade, whereas the cotton-processing plants reduce such grades and increase discounts. This is due to the fact that after processing the cotton the profits for higher staple output and quality would go to the plant. As a result, payments for what the farmers have achieved go to the processors. According

to the specialists, merely by increasing discounts and lowering the grade of the cotton the plant can reach high indicators even despite considerable raw material losses. Contradictions caused by narrow departmental interests may be noted also in relations between kolkhozes and sovkhozes, on the one hand, and enterprises in other processing sectors, on the other. As a result, the party and soviet organs and arbitration authorities and, occasionally, the courts receive requests submitted by kolkhozes and sovkhozes to consider conflict situations caused by differences in production rating. There have been cases in which all kinds of dealers and speculators have profited from the fact that processing enterprises had lowered the grade of farm commodities, underweight cattle and others.

One of the main reasons for all such contradictions, which lead to violations of the norms and principles of socialist economic management, was the fact that the considerable changes in production forces throughout the entire agroindustrial complex were not paralleled by corresponding changes in production relations. As a rule, priority in relations among sectors within the complex is given to organizations servicing agriculture and to processing enterprises. In this interaction the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are virtually deprived of the possibility of actively influencing their partners, improving the structure of productive capital they receive and upgrading its quality, and the deadlines for accepting and rating agricultural products by processing enterprises and trade organizations. This is the reason for the still huge losses and shortages of goods in the course of their transportation, storage and processing, i.e., at the "junction" points between agricultural production and subsequent stages on the way to the finished product. The existing practice of departmental management and planning has created a certain economic autonomy of sectors within the agroindustrial complex. A narrow specialization of administrative labor has developed, which has brought about a splintering in the functions of economic management and a certain loss of controllability of the single process of food production. As a result, narrow departmental objectives and interests began to predominate over end results and national economic interests in capital investments and the economic assessment of the results of the activities of each sector. This has affected the entire system of financial-economic relations among units within the agroindustrial complex and has misdirected them toward protecting narrow departmental interests.

The creation of agroindustrial associations, in accordance with the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is a major step which creates real prerequisites and opportunities for surmounting such contradictions. However, the realization of such opportunities will require major scientifically substantiated changes in the mechanism of financial-economic relations among the units within the agroindustrial complex and in the system of plan work indicators of organizations and processing enterprises servicing agriculture. That is why the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Improve the Economic Mechanism and to Strengthen the Economy of Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes," approved by the plenum, calls for making the necessary changes in the existing procedure for planning and using the profits of enterprises and organizations servicing agriculture.

One of the basic problems which must be resolved in planning the activities of the agroindustrial complex as an entity is determining the type of end product. It is produced by two groups of sectors: the sectors engaged in agricultural production and the sectors processing agricultural output. The enterprises and organizations servicing agriculture are classified in terms of their functions within the social reproduction process as part of the production infrastructure of the agroindustrial complex and are called upon to contribute to increasing the quantity, improving the quality and ensuring the protection, prompt processing and transportation of finished and intermediary goods. The inclusion of infrastructural sectors, together with kolkhozes, sovkhoses and processing enterprises, in agroindustrial associations will contribute to the rapprochement among their interests. Although the servicing organizations will retain their departmental subordination, the planning of their activities will be directly subordinated to the targets of the production of end and intermediary products by kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Whereas so far the nature of their services has been based on departmental instructions "from above," under the new circumstances these functions will be assumed by the rayon agroindustrial association on the basis of farm requests. Currently supplies of the countryside with equipment have improved and mechanizer and specialist cadres have been trained. However, differences still remain in the levels of development of the farms. A creative approach must be adopted in order to take this variety into consideration. For example, it may be expedient in one rayon to broaden the realm of activities of Sel'khoztekhnika or Sel'khozkhimiya departments, abolishing them in another and transferring their functions to the consolidated organs established as a result of the merger among several servicing organizations.

The work of the organizations within the infrastructure of the agroindustrial complex should be assessed on the basis of the actual satisfaction by them of kolkhoz and sovkhos requirements. This necessitates the type of financial-economic relations in which increased agricultural output will be the main target and the exclusive evaluation result of the activities of organizations servicing kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The question of the profitability of such organizations arises with this approach. The receiving of unjustified payments by servicing organizations for the sake of increasing their profits not only severely damages the financial position of kolkhozes and sovkhoses; the lion's share of payments to the budget (which is allegedly economically justified by the very existence of the servicing organizations) is returned in the final account to those same kolkhozes and sovkhoses by writing off loans and debts, increasing purchasing prices and many other means. All of this widens the gap between the ever-increasing purchase and stable retail prices of staple food products and artificially creates disproportions in the economy. For example, compared with the 8th Five-Year Plan, during the 10th Five-Year Plan the cost of plowing and sowing machinery for kolkhozes and sovkhoses nearly tripled and the cost of technical facilities per irrigated hectare increased by a factor of 2.8. Materials and equipment for animal husbandry became more expensive. Outlays increased faster than returns. Hence the increased cost of crop and animal husbandry goods. Some farms sell their products at a loss. Under such circumstances it is difficult to ensure expanded reproduction through domestic financial sources. This leads to

increased budget allocations, particularly loans for current and capital outlays. This increases the bank loan indebtedness of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Proportionality and balancing in the socialist economy largely depend on the financial-economic relations among its sectors and levels. The practice of socialist economic management has developed proven methods for the organization of such relations on a cost-effective basis. However, a great deal depends on the ways of application of cost-effectiveness and earning profits. Under the new circumstances--in the agroindustrial complex as an organic entity--new principles governing financial-economic relations among its sectors must be applied, which would enable us to exclude profit from planning and evaluation indicators of sectorial activities within the infrastructure of the agroindustrial complex (as, as a matter of fact, in a series of other sectors within the production infrastructure). In turn, this will require changes in the means for the use of cost-effectiveness, so that the enterprises and organizations which have become "nonprofit-oriented" (i.e., which would exclude under certain circumstances interaction with other farms based on the efforts to earn "personal" profits), making them economically interested in high production and economic indicators reached by the farms they service. Such an approach enables us to formulate the concept of intersectorial cost-effectiveness which stipulates, among others, the establishment within the agroindustrial complex of intersectorial cost-effective units in which, along with profitable enterprises producing finished goods, will include servicing "nonprofit" enterprises and organizations. At the current stage in economic development, in our view, this would be determined by the characteristics of the development of cost-effectiveness, about which later, and the means for earning socialist profits not only within the agroindustrial complex but within the single national economic complex at large.

#### Contradictions Between Objectives and Means for the Application of Cost-Effectiveness

The conversion of our country's economy into a single national economic complex calls for regulating economic relations as an integral system. The measures taken by the party to develop, improve, expand and intensify cost-effectiveness are aimed at strengthening its foundation--socialist ownership. Priority is given to the main objective of cost-effectiveness--ensuring the rational utilization of nationwide manpower, material and financial resources at the disposal of associations (enterprises) and other economic units for the sake of achieving the highest end economic results in the interests of society. Today the purpose of cost-effectiveness is to ensure the unity of economic interests of the entire society and the individual sectors, regions, associations (enterprises) and workers; to increase their economic interest in obtaining high end national economic results; to encourage the implementation of planned assignments while steadily upgrading work efficiency and quality and pursuing a strict regimen of savings; the efficient observance of contractual obligations; and the use of the normative-net production indicator. The socialist profit earned by the cost-effective units must stimulate reaching the best possible (from the viewpoint of the interests of the entire society) results of production activities with lowest possible outlays.

In practice, however, the means for organizing cost-effective activities and profit earning are largely subordinated to narrow departmental interests. Under the existing planning procedure the rule operates according to which each enterprise, organization, administrative establishment or office must mandatorily earn profits based on cost-effectiveness. The struggle for "profit at all cost" is considered a major achievement on the part of one organization, enterprise or department or another, regardless of their type of work or position in public production. The initial impression is that earning a profit through such means increases the wealth of the country. In reality, however, the opposite becomes true. For example, it is well-known that even favorable work indicators of individual enterprises or associations (high profitability, low material intensiveness, etc.) frequently turn into lowered quality and reliability and increased cost of operation of machinery, equipment, buildings, and installations. Many enterprises frequently over-fulfill their profit plan through above-plan production of "profitable" goods, higher prices and violations of standards and technical stipulations. Such profit increases harm the social interest.

Such an approach greatly harms not only the entire national economy at large but the moral foundations of socialism as well, for truly socialist efficiency is replaced by commercial enterprise. The wholesale price level is being steadily violated always on the ascending side. In pursuing their narrow department interests and trying to earn higher profits from the marketing of their goods, enterprises, associations and ministries deliberately practice artificial price increases. For example, the official announcement by the USSR State Committee for Prices on raising the price of a disc harrow by 3,290 rubles by the Uralkhimmash Production Association, states the following: "The wholesale price for the harrow, totaling 7,840 rubles, submitted to the USSR State Committee for Prices, was based essentially on the cost of assemblies and parts manufactured on the basis of extensive cooperation, at a cost of 6,670 rubles. A review of the draft with representatives of the cooperated organizations indicated that the cost of assemblies and parts was 4,105 rubles, while the total cost of a harrow was 4,412 rubles." In order to have an expert evaluation, representatives of the USSR State Committee for Prices were forced not only to check the cost documents but meet with "representatives of the cooperated organizations." In order for the USSR State Committee for Prices to be able successfully to control and prevent price increases of hundreds of thousands of varieties of industrial goods produced in the country it would need a huge army of planning-economic workers engaged in the "double computation" of prices: the first at the enterprise producing the goods and the ministry above it and the second by the USSR State Committee for Prices.

We know that state institutions must resort to administrative measures in controlling economic processes whenever the existing planning and economic method mechanism proves to be undereffective. The use of purely administrative methods rather than economic levers entails not only unjustified expenditures of huge amounts of state funds and the labor of skilled specialists (for double computation operations, for example). Practical experience confirms that in a number of cases the enterprises turn out to be uninterested in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. For example, the

plant for grinding machine tools in Moscow estimated the price of a new cog-grinding machine tool, acutely needed by the national economy, particularly accurately and reached the conclusion that its output would force the plant to operate at a loss.

The imperfection of economic levers and incentives also limits the possibility of applying the normative-net production indicator. Currently this indicator can be used essentially in assessing the contribution of the labor collective to the goods produced. The conservation of material resources as well is not always economically advantageous, particularly if it affects profitability adversely. Bonuses and price markups for conservation rarely compensate for enterprise losses.

At the present stage in the development of production forces the public ownership of productive capital raises with increasing urgency the need to develop the type of economic and financial relations among socialist enterprises which would ensure price parity. At that point no one would benefit from increasing or reducing prices. Cost-effectiveness encourages and strengthens departmentalism wherever the people forget that the only owner of all enterprises is the national economy and separate production into "mine" and "someone else's." This not only fails to ensure the unity of interests among the individual units within the national economic complex but triggers contradictions among enterprises and departments and between national and narrow departmental interests.

That is why reality itself urgently faces our economy with the task of establishing a unified system of production cooperation which would break down artificially erected departmental barriers. This is possible only through the consistent implementation of the course formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress of strengthening the reciprocal responsibility of labor collectives for the implementation of plans and particularly assignments related to production deliveries based on consumer orders. However, this cannot be achieved merely through administrative control or commercial manipulations with a view to shifting funds from one state "pocket" into another. The result is not a rapprochement but a conflict among the interests of the individual economic units within the single national economic complex.

The creation of associations, the formulation of comprehensive programs, the setting up of interdepartment commissions, and so on, were major steps leading to bringing closer to each other the interests of a number of enterprises and organizations. However, they cannot cover the complex structure of criss-crossing relations and ties within the single national economic complex in terms of developing an overall system. This raises the question of the elaboration and application of the type of principles governing financial relations under which the majority of enterprises within the production cooperation system (possibly entire sectors as well) will not try to earn profits "for themselves" but will subordinate their managerial and economic interests to their participation in the formation and distribution of the overall profits generated at enterprises manufacturing finished products. It would be expedient in order to resolve this problem to use the concept of intersectorial cost-effectiveness which, in our view, would help

find a way to accomplish a turn from a confrontation to a rapprochement among the interests of enterprises, associations and entire sectors. The study and scientific summation of the valuable shoots of new developments in the field of production cooperation, which have sprouted in our enterprises in terms of progressive experience in economic management in the various production sectors and in which some elements of intersectorial cost-effectiveness can be easily detected, are of great importance in the substantiation of this concept.

#### From Brigade Contracting to Intersectorial Cost-Effective Units

As the realm of application of cost-effectiveness broadens its method improves. This applies above all to internal (intraplant) cost-effectiveness, based on labor division, specialization and cooperation within the labor collective. In the course of construction work and in the various industrial and agricultural sectors, reality itself has indicated the need to use the type of cost-effectiveness forms which would make it possible to combine within a single unit--a comprehensive or related brigade--several collectives interrelated through production technology. They have common contractual obligations and economic incentives which ensure the total equality among all brigade members in labor assessment and incentives, based on the coefficient of labor participation in achieving end collective results.

These requirements fully apply to cost-effective brigades in the agroindustrial complex. The Food Program points out the need for their extensive application. In recent years the leading kolkhozes have acquired a certain practical experience in the development of the brigade and collective contracting method. For example, the complex brigade at the Novostroyka Kolkhoz in Klinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, includes units interrelated through the agrotechnical sequence of operations. They are started by the team in charge of applying organic and chemical fertilizers, followed by those who prepare the field for sowing. In turn, they are followed by the tractor drivers and the team in charge of caring for the crops. Finally, the brigade's work ends with that of the combines. In organizing brigade work it is important for the work of each unit, once completed, to be assessed by the following unit. If this part of the work is accepted, it is continued by the next team. Should such an investigation reveal shortcomings, the unit which has allowed them must redo everything within a very short time. In other words, faulty work is nipped at the bud. If for one reason or another a defect cannot be detected immediately, it becomes apparent in the course of the stage that follows.

In both industry and agriculture the brigade and collective cost-effective contracting method is organized within the limits of a single enterprise, kolkhoz or sovkhoz. The next important stage in the development of the system of production cooperation, with a view to unifying the efforts of labor collectives for the purpose of achieving high end results, applies to interfarm cooperation among kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The new exhibit on "Economics and Organization of Agricultural Production" at the USSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy, has developed like something of a progressive experience course. The exhibits include the Shirvinta



Interkolkhoz Hog-Breeding Complex in the Lithuanian SSR, involving the participation of 14 kolkhozes. At the end of the year the volume of goods marketed and the net income are distributed among the farms on a share participation basis. The exhibits of Altay Kray describe cooperation which exceeds the framework of a single rayon. Here the farms of the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast (39 farms), Sovetskiy Rayon (eight) and the Promyshlennyy Sovkhoz, Biyskiy Rayon, have joined efforts and facilities in beef production. In addition to a sharp increase in meat production, interfarm cooperation helps them to resolve the problem of equalizing farming conditions.

This experience clearly proves the advantages of production specialization and cooperation based on interfarm cooperation which the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum described as one of the basic directions to be followed in the implementation of the Food Program. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes which participate in interfarm cooperation consist of two cost-effective units: the first is the individual farm and the second is the interfarm complex shared by all participating farms, through which they earn and distribute the jointly earned profits. It is precisely this principle that is applied in the concept of intersectorial cost-effectiveness.

Both in the establishment of complex cost-effective brigades and in interfarm cooperation the use of common (interfarm) cost-effectiveness does not exceed the limits of a single department. But what happens if the labor collectives participating within the single technological chain producing finished goods belong to different sectors and are even under the jurisdiction of different departments? Equally interesting in this respect are the "shoots" of initiative from below. A clear example of a creative approach to the joint efforts of labor collectives belonging to different sectors and departments was the widely known experience of joining the efforts of crop growers, workers at the sugar refinery, automotive enterprises and Sel'khoztekhnika in Yampol'skiy Rayon, Vinnitsa Oblast. Since 1978 they have been working on the basis of a single comprehensive plan for the harvesting, transportation and processing of beets and have pledged to average no less than 50 quintals of refined sugar per hectare. But why is it that the Yampol'skiy method is still difficult to apply, although many partners are totally in favor of it? Because in most cases departmental interests gain the upper hand. When cooperation among labor collectives belonging to different sectors and departments is organized, frequently major contradictions are detected, caused by departmental barriers: that which is profitable to one collective is detrimental to another. The point is that each department has its own objectives, plans, indicators, methods for assessing labor and incentive and, above all, cost-effective units which try to earn "their own" profits. For example, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are interested in increasing the sugar content of the beets while it is of greater advantage to the sugar refineries to have a "concealed" reserve sugar content, which will enable them to overfulfill their plan and have additional earnings. This is encouraged by the existing system of financial-economic relations, which remains totally outside of joint obligations, cooperation contracts and some other purely organizational forms of relations among partners. Even the initiators of the Yampol'skiy method are dissatisfied: their former council of related enterprises has changed its name to the agroindustrial association council. However, they

have been unable to achieve unity of economic interests. It is no accident that the processing and servicing enterprises which, in the interest of the common project try to take into consideration the needs of agriculture, must frequently if not violate at least skillfully "bypass" regulations, norms and different instructions issued by their departments.

Quite indicative in this respect is the Bogodukhovskiy experience, familiar in the Ukraine. For the past 14 years the personnel of the Bogodukhovskiy Rayon Sel'khoztekhnika, Kharkov Oblast, have been steadily reducing outlays for repair operations and other technical services. For example, they repair the tractors after work extending to 8,900 hectares, which is double the service life norm. Their repair coefficient is 32.5, compared with 76 in the oblast. Most other sections are steadily increasing their repair charges, thus earning additional profits for Sel'khoztekhnika which, incidentally, is encouraging the broadening of repair centers which may not be always necessary. The result is that the more equipment breaks down in the kolхозes and sovkhoses the better it is for Sel'khoztekhnika planning indicators. The logic used at Bogodukhovskiy Rayon is different: those who are answerable for the state of the equipment must judge actual work results not on the basis of increased outlays for updating the machinery but their reduction. This logic of economic thinking is entirely consistent with the requirements and tasks formulated in the Food Program and the need to bring closer to each other the interests of the individual units within the agro-industrial complex as a single entity and combine their efforts in order to achieve high end results.

The concept of intersectorial cost-effectiveness, which calls for the formulation and application of new types of financial-economic relations among enterprises and organizations belonging to different sectors, jointly participating (on a parallel or consecutive basis) within the single technological process of producing a specific type of finished commodity, is oriented toward the solution of such problems. According to this concept, intersectorial (territorial, interdepartmental) cost-accounting units, which include groups of juridically independent enterprises and organizations under different departmental affiliations but jointly involved in the production of a specific end product, must become the new financial and economic structures of the agroindustrial complex. Such units should be created within the boundaries of administrative rayons or, if necessary, on an interr rayon scale as well.

All associations, enterprises, and so on, within the cost-effective unit, must have common plans, contractual and socialist obligations, economic levers and incentives and a single source of material incentive shared by all--the profit of the cost-effective unit which is set up at the enterprise (association) which produces the finished product. This enterprise is the only profit-earning enterprise in the unit, whose motives and activity evaluation indicators include the generating of profits. We have agreed to consider all other teams within the cost-effective unit as "nonprofit:" operating within the confines of a given team, their purpose is not to earn "their own" profits but, by providing raw materials, semifinished goods and services to the profit-earning enterprise, to participate in the formation and distribution

of the profit earned by the cost-effective team. Their economic prosperity depends on the share of their participation in profit earning. In order to plan the work of the intersectorial cost-effective unit and its accountability, and the implementation of financial operations and distribution of profits among economic units within the team, it would be expedient to apply methods which have already been tested in the complex cost-effective brigades (the labor participation coefficient in particular) as well as in farms engaged in interfarm cooperation. For example, the outlays of the Sel'khozkhimiya sections in the overall outlays could be computed on the basis of a technological chart showing crop results.

A single enterprise could participate in several cost-effective units on a profit or "nonprofit" status. For example, the profit-earning enterprise in the "kolkhoz-servicing organizations" unit is the kolkhoz, while all servicing organizations are "nonprofit." Their tasks and functions are to participate in increasing the quantity and improving the quality of kolkhoz output and earning wages based on their share of participation. In the "sugar refinery-kolkhoz" unit it is the plant that is profit-earning while the kolkhoz (represented by the sugar beet-growing brigade) becomes "nonprofit," but earns its share in accordance with the quantity and quality of the raw material it has delivered. Also not excluded are variants involving fully profit-earning or exclusively "nonprofit" enterprises such as, for example, the enterprises within the infrastructural sectors. As intersectorial cost-effectiveness spreads, the scientific principles governing the formation of cost-effective brigades in kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be applied on the basis of their end product. The single agroindustrial complex will become a system of interrelated intersectorial cost-effective units, each one of which will cover a single extradepartmental technological production cycle in producing a specific finished item.

#### Intersectorial Cost-Effectiveness Development Prospects

The further development of intersectorial cost-effectiveness will enable us to extend the new methods of financial-economic relations to the unified national economic complex. For example, in an intersectorial cost-effective unit oriented toward the production of cotton staple the cotton-producing plant will be profit-earning while the kolkhoz or sovkhoz will be a "nonprofit" enterprise, which participates in the forming and distribution of the profit of the cost-effective unit. In the new cost-effective unit the end product of which will be industrial knitted goods made of cotton staples, the cotton plant will be "nonprofit." In subsequent units enterprises using industrial knitted goods will be profit-earning, and so on. The extension of intersectorial cost-effectiveness to cover new sectors within the single national economic complex will entail the further development of ways and means of production concentration and specialization. Since intersectorial cost-effective units may include dozens and even hundreds of enterprises (associations) belonging to different sectors and departments, intereconomic planned coordination of their production activities would be expedient by organizing, for example, within the framework of the cost-effective unit profit and "nonprofit" territorial complexes covering groups of organizationally and juridically autonomous enterprises (or their structural

subunits), united through the production or consumption of specific items. This would lead to the formation of a new financial-economic structure within the single national economic complex--a crisscrossing system of intersectorial cost-effective units which would include intereconomic territorial complexes within which production and distribution of profits among participating enterprises (associations) will be coordinated on a planned basis with the help of computers.

The concept of intersectorial cost-effectiveness oriented toward end results and the organization of a new financial-economic structure within the single national economic complex is based on the theoretical and political concept of developed socialism formulated by the party and on the requirements of the Leninist principle of unity of political and economic management, i.e., the need to proceed in resolving any economic problem from national interests and the tasks of building communism. The introduction of intersectorial cost-effectiveness becomes one of the most important levels in production socialization, which Lenin considered a complex process in the course of the ever-more comprehensive mastery by the proletarian state of the sum total of productive forces and production-economic relations, without which reaching the objectives of socialist production would be inconceivable. Intersectorial cost-effectiveness should be considered a new stage (following cost-effective brigades and interfarm cooperation) in the development of a single production cooperation system the need for the all-development of which was indicated in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

With a proper organization of their work, the establishment of intersectorial cost-effective units oriented toward end national economic results will bring about qualitative changes in the style and methods of socialist economic management. Above all, a major step will have been taken toward bringing state and departmental interests closer to each other: at that point the prosperity of an enterprise within the cost-effective unit will depend not on showing a profit at any cost "for one's self" but on its contribution to the end product needed by society.

The new forms of relations among enterprises within the intersectorial cost-effective unit will create objective prerequisites for the painless elimination of the "gross" indicator and the active application of the normative-net output indicator. It is precisely this indicator that will become the base in determining the coefficient of labor participation of each production unit or service organization in the work of the cost-effective unit and the formation of its profit. The following factors will be considered, along with labor outlays, in determining the coefficient, higher labor productivity, conservation of material, labor and financial resources, application of scientific and technical achievements, and high quality and low cost of output. The role and functions of some other indicators in planning and assessing the work of the production unit and the team as a whole will change. Better conditions will be created for upgrading the importance of the production cost indicator for finished and intermediary commodities, since all the members of the cost-effective team will be interested in reducing it. The conservation of material, labor and financial resources

will become mutually profitable. New equipment or technology which, on the basis of today's criteria, may prove to be unprofitable to the enterprise would be profitable to the new cost-effective unit.

Major changes will take place in the methods used in forming and computing profits, estimating profitability and evaluating the efficiency of production activities of the new cost-effective units and their member enterprises and organizations. As cooperation among economic units within the intersectorial cost-effective unit develops, new forms of mutual aid and reciprocal control will begin to take shape. Since the end result will be determining in the work of the cost-effective unit, the economic autonomy of the individual team and the economic units within it will be increased in terms of adopting the most efficient and economical management methods.

The organization of intersectorial cost-effective teams will have a major educational importance, for the new principles governing relations (including commodity-monetary relations) between producers and consumers of a specific item will lead to changes in the methods for the evaluation of their work and will contribute to surmounting among enterprise managers and workers the mentality of the owner, the creator of the financial prosperity of "one's own" enterprise, ministry or department at the expense of another. As a result, the content of the very concept of "departmental interest" will change.

The activities of intersectorial cost-effective teams will ensure the implementation of one of the most important Leninist principles of socialist economic management--accountability and control. Both the activities of all cost-effective units and the size of their contribution will be subjected to open collective control by all participants in the manufacturing of the end product. The very process of profit earning will become public and will be assessed on the basis of the coefficient of participation of each member of the cost-effective unit in the production of the finished product.

The organization of intersectorial cost-effective units is a new method of organizing and planning production and financial relations in the agroindustrial and the single national economic complex. Such units could develop into precisely the type of financial-economic units which are missing today in our mechanism for national economic management, including its most important component--the agroindustrial complex, fully in accordance with the stipulations formulated by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "Day after day, the workers in the agroindustrial complex must increase their efforts and work in such a way that the huge funds allocated for the solution of this problem may yield returns already today and even more so tomorrow."

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## INTEGRATION AS A FACTOR OF CEMA ECONOMIC INTENSIFICATION

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[Article by O. Chukanov]

[Text] The economic policy of the CPSU and the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties within CEMA is based on the consideration and use of the objective laws of socialism, which express the essence of the new production method. With the growth of production forces in the world socialist comity, the mechanism of action and use of socialist economic laws is affecting ever more deeply the interconnection among the national economic complexes of the fraternal countries. Currently socialist expanded reproduction is characterized by the increased unity between two processes: the growth and advancement of the national economic complexes of sovereign socialist states and the all-round strengthening of the organic interconnection among them and deepened socialist economic integration.

The global socialist economy is not developing on an isolated basis. Autarchy is alien to it. It is interrelated with the global economy as a whole and such interrelationships are of major political significance, for it is a question of coexistence and confrontation between two conflicting class systems and organizing friendship and cooperation with countries belonging to the national-liberation movement zone. This factor as well must be always taken into consideration in the development of the socialist economy.

The international socialist division of labor is based on the global division of labor. The Soviet Union, like the other members of the socialist comity, following the principle of its peaceful policy, is ready to expend mutually profitable and equal cooperation with all countries, regardless of their social or political system. It is not the fault of CEMA countries that the scale of their economic relations with the capitalist states are still greatly behind the potential opportunities for a universal division of labor.

Socialist economic integration has become a powerful and indivisible factor of national economic progress in CEMA countries. The CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that "it is impossible today to imagine the confident development of one socialist country or another or its successful resolution of problems such as ensuring the necessary energy and raw material resources or the application of the latest scientific and technical achievements without relations with the other fraternal countries."

It is entirely natural, therefore, that after determining the strategic tasks related to the further building of socialism and communism, the 26th CPSU Congress and the congresses held by the fraternal parties emphasized the need to rely on intensified socialist economic integration. This line is being extended and developed. "We are aspiring," emphasized Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "toward increasing the depth and efficiency of comradely cooperation and socialist mutual aid among fraternal countries, including the joint solution of scientific and technical, production, transportation, energy and other problems. It is on this level that further joint steps are being formulated currently." The plenum confirmed the priority held by the socialist countries in the development of Soviet foreign economic relations. The plenum's decrees stipulate the need "to upgrade the efficiency of foreign economic relations and, above all, to expand and intensify cooperation with the socialist countries."

The economic progress of the CEMA members obeys the general dialectics of development, characterized not only by successes but by new difficult problems as well. Socialist economic integration is constantly facing complex problems which must be resolved in accordance not merely with the current moment but long-range requirements. Let us emphasize most definitely the need to increase the interaction among our countries in connection with the worsened global reproduction situation and international political environment. The integration strategy among CEMA countries requires refinement, choice of new long-term guidelines for a coordinated economic policy through 1995-2000 and improvements in the cooperation mechanism itself.

We know that the problems related to the further intensification of integration will be discussed at the economic conference held on a high party and state level. The CEMA members supported the suggestion formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress on the holding of such a conference. Currently preparations are being made for it under the direct supervision of the central committees of the ruling parties.

All CEMA members are interested in ensuring that the conference lay the beginning of a new higher stage of socialist economic integration. At their recent meetings, the heads of the fraternal parties and countries expressed their belief that it will be of major political importance and will provide a new impetus to the solution of basic problems of intensified economic cooperation among socialist countries for the period through the year 2000.

In connection with such preparations, our departments and scientific institutions and the CEMA organs are focusing to an even greater extent their efforts on problems which the members of the socialist comity must resolve in the foreseeable future. They include the search for and profound scientific substantiation of specific ways and means of coordinating the economic policies of our countries, defining ways and means for a rapprochement among the structures of their economic mechanisms, developing direct relations among economic units and creating joint firms.

Proper guidelines for the future can be earmarked only on the basis of a comprehensive scientific assessment of the past and the present.

The current stage of cooperation among our countries began at the turn of the 1970s or, more precisely, in 1969, with the historical resolutions of the 23rd Special CEMA Session, which took place on a high party and state level and which earmarked the strategy for socialist economic integration for a 15- to 20-year period.

The socialist division of labor has substantially broadened and deepened since then. This was manifested, for example, in the fact that between 1971 and 1981 reciprocal trade among CEMA countries increased by a factor of 3.7. That period was marked by the extensive mastery of important scientific and technical achievements in the areas of computers, outer space, utilization of nuclear energy, and others. The fraternal countries made a substantial contribution to such cooperation in national economic progress. It is no accident that during the 1970s the pace of economic development reached by the CEMA countries was substantially higher than in the capitalist world. They were higher also during the rather difficult 1981. This faster pace has remained in 1982 as well. This is a real manifestation of the advantages of the socialist economic system, including socialist economic integration. As a whole, in summing up the results of the previous stage, we can quite definitely say that the overall production and scientific and technical potential created by CEMA countries enables them to resolve any problem regardless of its complexity.

The main direction in the development of the CEMA countries during the forthcoming period is the accelerated pace of economic intensification based on extensive scientific and technical progress.

Essentially, the European CEMA countries have already put into circulation virtually all available resources. In other words, they have activated their extensive economic growth factors. Virtually no substantial opportunities for further economic progress other than the maximally efficient use of these energized resources remain. Hence the task of reaching maximal conservation in labor, raw materials, energy, productive capital, land and water resources per unit of finished product. This is dictated also by the increased cost of fuel and raw material resources, particularly from the viewpoint of capital outlays. During the past five-year plan outlays per ton of petroleum extracted in our country had doubled compared with 1972. This five-year plan they will become even greater. In 15 years specific capital investments in the extraction of iron ore have no less than tripled. Furthermore, all socialist countries have faced the need to increase outlays for agricultural production. Capital investments in scientific and technical progress, environmental protection and transportation are increasing. Naturally, the difficult international situation, which forces us to strengthen our defense capability, has quite a tangible effect.



In the 1980s the acceleration of scientific and technical progress has become the determining factor in the economic strategy of the socialist comity. The joint scientific developments conducted by our countries lead to the creation of new progressive technological processes which revolutionize the production process. They are aimed at ensuring the extensive and comprehensive processing of raw materials and fuel, the maximal utilization of waste, the conservation of energy and manpower, the creation of new materials, upgrading the quality and durability of metals, the development of efficient means for their protection from corrosion, and so on. The extensive use of automated production facilities, based on microprocessor equipment and industrial robots, is particularly important. In machine building, for example, combined with programmed machine tools and other processing complexes, this enables us to develop flexible and adaptable automated lines and production facilities.

Naturally, the extensive use of microprocessors and robots brings about profound social and technical changes in the CEMA economy. For example, each 1,000 machine tools with digital programming equipped with microcomputers could release 2,500 machine-tool operators. Replacing minicomputers in technological equipment with microcomputers would enable us to upgrade reliability by a factor of 7-10, lower production costs by a factor of 5-7 and considerably reduce the amount of needed power. Recently high-level general agreements were concluded on cooperation for the development and extensive utilization of microprocessor equipment in the national economy and the development and organization of specialized and cooperated production of industrial robots.

Energy is the most important factor in economic growth. The CEMA members pay particular attention to the fuel and energy problem. They are trying to resolve it jointly, through the joint development of natural resources and the rationalization of power consumption. During the past decade the CEMA comity was the only industrially developed part in the world virtually unaffected by the energy crisis. This was also largely the result of the joint construction of the Soyuz gas pipeline, the establishment of joint power systems and the building of nuclear electric power plants with the technical assistance of the USSR.

Therefore, practical experience has convincingly proved the extensive substantiation of the course taken by the fraternal parties toward planned development of their own energy resources above all and ensuring the energy independence of the socialist comity. On the basis of this strategic line, during the 1980s the CEMA members will be implementing an extensive program for the development of their own fuel-energy resources.

Two basic directions become apparent in the solution of the energy problem. The first involves reducing the power intensiveness of public production and the maximally economical utilization of all types of energy. The second involves changing the structure of the energy balance.

On the basis of joint equipment manufacturing, the CEMA members have developed the large-scale construction of nuclear electric power plants. During the current five-year plan the generation of electric power in the European

CEMA countries will be increased above all through the development of the nuclear power industry, whose capacity will more than double. Virtually the entire increase in the production of electric power in Hungary and Czechoslovakia will be secured through the completion of new nuclear electric power plants.

This is not merely a question of increased capacity. In the immediate future the VVER-1000 reactor will replace the VVER-440 reactor. This will enable us substantially to reduce the cost per kilowatt hour of electric power and will save no less than 2 million tons of petroleum products per year. The first electric power plants with a reactor of this model is already under construction in Bulgaria, at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant, with the technical assistance of the USSR. The Czechoslovak plants as well have now undertaken to develop the production of million-kilowatt reactors.

A very efficient line in the development of the nuclear power industry is its use for the generation of heat. From the economical viewpoint, nuclear power plants generating heat offer a number of unquestionable advantages. They save on scarce organic fuel and the cost of the heat produced is substantially lower than in heat-producing systems of similar power running on fuel oil. Scientific and technical developments and experiments conducted in our country have confirmed the possibility of developing reliable, safe and economical nuclear thermoelectric power plants. This has enabled us to undertake the construction of heat-generating nuclear power plants near Gorkiy and Voronezh.

The fraternal socialist countries are showing great interest in the Soviet experience in nuclear heat production. Unquestionably, this is a promising direction in our cooperation and the development of specific problems related to it has already been undertaken.

Increasing the percentage of natural gas consumption is an important means for improving the energy balance. As we know, natural gas reserves discovered in the socialist comity are quite substantial. The high heat generating of natural gas and its convenient utilization as industrial and household fuel have led to a steady increase in demand on the world market. The importance of natural gas as a chemical raw material is equally increasing. Studies made by Soviet scientists have indicated, for example, that natural gas can be successfully used as a basic raw material in the production of synthetic protein feeds, which offers entirely new opportunities for its efficient utilization. For many years the Soviet Union has supplied the fraternal countries with substantial amounts of natural gas. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, we are willing to increase further cooperation in the extraction and transportation of natural gas from the very big deposits in Western Siberia.

The USSR energy program, the drafting of which is currently almost completed, is based not only on meeting the needs of the Soviet economy but also the interests of the fraternal countries. At the same time, it offers extensive opportunities for the mutually profitable solution of energy problems facing all of Europe.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly called for the holding of European congresses on problems of energy and transportation. Under contemporary conditions such initiatives are becoming increasingly topical and are creating a growing interest in a number of West European countries. However, their practical implementation is being hindered as a result of U.S. pressure. This conflicts with the national interests of the European countries and is detrimental to detente and peace.

Production and scientific and technical cooperation is increasing becoming the main direction in the development of socialist economic integration in the 1980s. Now it is a question not of simply increasing trade but intensifying production specialization and cooperation among sectors and within economic sectors of CEMA countries. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the CPSU and the other fraternal countries intend to make the next decade a period of intensive production and scientific and technical cooperation among socialist countries."

The CEMA members have already done extensive work in this direction. Reciprocal deliveries of specialized goods increased considerably in the 1970s, reaching an annual volume of approximately 25 billion rubles. The long-term target programs for cooperation and the conclusion of agreements on bilateral long-term programs for production specialization and cooperation through 1990 between the USSR and the European CEMA countries have opened new horizons for international specialization and cooperation.

For many years the division of labor in our comity developed mainly through intersectorial trade. However, contemporary problems demand above all the intensification of intrasectorial relations among CEMA members. Sectorial cooperation, coordinated for a period of two five-year plans, creates a base for overall intensification of specialization and cooperation. The urgent need to reorient cooperation toward the comprehensive utilization of intensive growth factors requires the fast increase in the production of priority goods through production specialization.

Today cooperation in new industrial sectors such as nuclear machine building, computer production, electronics and robotics, becomes the base for the further expansion of economic relations among our countries.

Production specialization and cooperation in the manufacturing of general industrial and, particularly, general machine-building items--standardized assemblies, parts and units, and materials and semifinished goods--is a most serious problem which, so far, has been clearly neglected. Typical representatives of such extensively used items are standardized metal goods, hydraulic and compressed-air systems, regulators, and so on. This is precisely the way to optimize the scale of machine-building output in our country and substantially to upgrade its productivity and the technical standards of intermediary and finished products. Essentially, it is a question of organizing in the CEMA countries production groups specializing in the manufacturing of the elements of contemporary machine building, applicable not in a single but in several sectors, thus exceeding strictly department borders. Estimates made by Soviet economists indicate that a conversion to the assembly

specialization of standardized items would result in savings by factor of 3-5 compared with general-purpose production. The resulting improved quality of output is no less important. Specialization and quality improvements go hand in hand, contributing to the general progress in economic intensification in the fraternal countries.

The following example clearly proves the advantages offered by so far unused sectorial specialization: cog wheels are an element of virtually all types of machinery. They are an item of truly general machine-building use. They are produced by the millions in the CEMA countries. The technology of their manufacturing is complex and requires extensive production centralization, specialization and automation. However, cog wheels are produced everywhere on the basis of the "universal method." Their manufacturing cost, consequently, is excessively high. It is only in the GDR and of late in our country that efforts have been made to organize the automated production of such items. It would be useful for the CEMA Commission on Machine Building and our planning organs and machine-building ministries to pay serious attention to this problem.

In our view, it would be very useful in drafting agreements on specialization and cooperation of sectorial significance to enhance the role of the consumer. The consumer must rely on the fact that the supplier will always take his interests into consideration and will try to improve the items produced.

Cooperation and specialization are scheduled to play an important role in the agroindustrial sectors. This was reemphasized in the USSR Food Program. Its section dealing with the development of foreign economic relations particularly stresses the need for intensified cooperation with CEMA members in agricultural production and the processing and rational utilization of raw materials based on long-term target programs. The Food Program calls for the systematic development of cooperation and specialization in the production of chemical fertilizers, plant protection preparations, feed additives and machines and equipment for the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production and, particularly, feed procurements and preparation. It calls for the more extensive use of the existing experience among CEMA countries in production based on progressive technologies.

An important task facing the Soviet Union is the updating of food industry enterprises. We have achieved basic agreements on mutually profitable cooperation in this area with the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. They must be implemented by the respective ministries and bilateral inter-governmental commissions on economic cooperation among CEMA countries.

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The changes taking place in the directions and content of the interaction among CEMA members cannot fail to be reflected on their joint planning activities and organizational methods.

Currently we must formulate the type of new means and methods for joint planning activity which would ensure the more profound interaction among the

national economies of our countries on the basis of coordinated long-term cooperation concepts. The ways to resolving this problem were indicated at the 26th CPSU Congress, which emphasized the need to add to the coordination of plans agreements on overall economic policy. Coordination of economic policy must begin with introducing qualitative changes in the entire system of joint planning activities, which will enable us to direct them even more efficiently toward the solution of central production scientific and technical and social problems facing the socialist comity. The horizons of joint planning activities are broadening as well. This will give continuity to such policy.

A coordinated economic policy will be a new confirmation of the steadfast aspiration on the part of the ruling communist parties and governments of CEMA countries to make joint decisions related to further improvements in socialist economic integration. The further strengthening of planning in integration will be achieved by strengthening the interconnection between socioeconomic objectives and the means to achieve them in the area of the international socialist division of labor. All of this will broaden possibilities of increasingly full utilization of the basic economic law of socialism and the law of planned and proportional development in the international arena. Conditions will be created as well for the more precise consideration of requirements and the collective use of the law of value. This will strengthen the principles of equivalency and mutual profit in the division of labor among CEMA members.

The coordination of economic policy must be preceded by the thorough preparation of the methodological and organization-methodical foundations of this new form of cooperation. Agreements must be reached on the objectives of economic policy, the principles governing the choice of its decisive directions, the levels at which such work must be conducted, its central stages, forms of interaction with plan coordination, methods of contractual-legal processing of agreements, and so on.

We believe that the economic policy of our countries could be coordinated through consultations and coordination work. This will enable us better to define the socioeconomic objectives of development, scientific and technical policy, the direction followed in the structural investment policy, the basic means of progress in the main material production sectors, problems related to the organization and management of foreign economic relations, and so on.

The analysis of each one of these problems could become a topic of special research. We shall limit ourselves to a discussion of scientific and technical policy. Of late, the question of coordinating priorities in the scientific and technical development of CEMA members has become quite relevant. The Soviet Union has drafted a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress for a 20-year period. So far, the other CEMA members have not drafted such programs. In this connection, the CEMA Committee on Scientific and Technical Cooperation formulated the idea that, quite obviously, the joint elaboration by interested CEMA members of a long-term comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress could become an important specific method for coordinating scientific and technical policy.

It would be expedient for such a program to be systematically refined and corrected every 5 years, for example, on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

Along with the formulation of the program, a mechanism for its implementation should be developed. In our view, under present-day conditions we must apply most extensively contractual and cost-effective forms of international scientific and technical cooperation.

The comprehensive programs for cooperation and international agreements should cover the entire "science-production-marketing-operation of equipment" cycle and develop in the course of cooperation practice with the help of "related" planning governing the entire reproduction cycle. This demands a significant increase in the responsibility of the immediate performers, and the more efficient definition of their roles and obligations in the course of the implementation of agreements.

The coordination of economic policy presumes improvements in planned coordination methods. Naturally, this will be based on agreements reached in the course of the coordination of economic policy. It would be expedient to focus more extensively plan coordination on the solution of priority problems which will ensure the implementation of the jointly formulated strategy for economic development and cooperation among CEMA members. We believe that the more efficient demarcation of functions among planning and foreign trade organs, on the one hand, and sectorial ministries, on the other, would contribute to success in this area.

Currently the determination of the overall volume of procurements over the 5-year period, virtually excluding intersectorial and intrasectorial trade and production cooperation, is the way the results of coordination among national economic plans of CEMA countries is determined. In our view, the planning and foreign trade organs of the individual countries could focus mainly on coordinating volumes and value indicators of reciprocal deliveries, trade conditions and definition of the targets of reciprocal cooperation and procedures for its implementation. The sectorial ministries could concentrate on problems of intrasectorial cooperation.

In our view, it would be expedient in this connection to consider the question of the more efficient definition of the competencies of our Gosplan and sectorial ministries and production associations. The main task of the Gosplan would be to organize efficient intersectorial production specialization and the coordination with interested countries of the exchange of a number of most important fuel and raw material goods for commodities needed by the USSR produced by sectors of equal economic significance. Naturally, this will obviously require a coordination of capital investments in the respective sectors.

Therefore, in our view, it would be expedient for the Gosplan to focus on key directions of cooperation and to allow sectorial ministries, within the limits of respective ceilings and plans, to make final decisions regarding intrasectorial specialization and cooperation. They could develop and

conclude general agreements related to intrasectorial cooperation on the sectorial level more efficiently and competently. Such agreements would consist of two parts: the strict intrasectorial exchange based on specialization in the manufacturing of finished goods (such as, for example, deliveries of passenger cars in exchange for heavy-duty trucks, exchange of chemical products and rolled ferrous metals) and production cooperation (exchange of assemblies and parts for finished goods). Decisions related to intrasectorial exchange could be made by the ministries within the range of planned resources and ceilings stipulated by the Gosplan. In turn, the sectorial ministries would grant individual production associations the right to conclude specific contracts for production cooperation within the limits of the indicators and ceilings stipulated by the Gosplan.

We believe that the economic mechanism of each CEMA member should become maximally open to socialist integration, favoring it and creating on all levels of the economic structure and in all units a deep interest in the active utilization of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor and production specialization and cooperation on a new technological basis.

Currently many CEMA countries have reached a level on which effective reciprocal economic relations cannot be developed without the active involvement of associations and enterprises in integration processes. The growth of direct relations is an essentially important direction in improving the socialist integration mechanism. This is encouraged in the decisions of the 26th CPSU congress and of the other fraternal parties.

The development of direct relations among enterprises in CEMA countries is sometimes considered a shift of the center of gravity in socialist economic integration to the so-called microlevel. Concern has been expressed that this may weaken the planned centralized principles and state foreign trade monopoly. Grounds for such views may have existed had direct relations been increased without proper governmental control and had joint planning activities yielded to free market relations among autonomous economic units. However, the purpose of direct relations among production associations and enterprises is not to replace but to expand cooperation among central economic management organs of CEMA members. They will take place within the framework of joint planning activities under the control of the central planning organs and foreign trade ministries and would unquestionably provide even broader scope for improving production cooperation.

The expansion of direct relations among production and scientific and technical enterprises and associations in CEMA countries must obviously take place gradually, as we gain experience and as corresponding economic and organizational prerequisites are made available. All such work is not only of economic but of major political significance. The development of direct relations will contribute to the international unification of the working class in the socialist countries and the further rapprochement among fraternal peoples.

Life includes in the agenda on the development of the integration process the task of the establishment of joint funds by CEMA countries. Some experience has already been gained in this area. The establishment of the Erdenet and Mongolsovtsvetmet Soviet-Mongolian enterprises, in which the latest equipment has been installed, helped to accelerate the pace of development of Mongolian industry, the training of a large number of highly skilled workers and specialists and the sharp increase in the country's export possibilities. The goods produced and profits earned by these enterprises are divided between Mongolia and the USSR on an equal basis; total reciprocal profitability of such cooperation has been ensured. Successful work is being developed also by the V'yetsovpetro Vietnamese-Soviet Enterprise for petroleum and natural gas surveys and extraction along the South Vietnamese shelf.

Several joint economic organizations created by other CEMA members are also operating successfully. For example, the Haldex Hungarian-Polish Enterprise is engaged in the efficient comprehensive processing of the coal dumps in Polish mines. The multilateral Interlikhter joint enterprise, created with the participation of Bulgaria, Hungary, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, has proved its value. It ensures the haulage of foreign trade freight between river and sea ports on the basis of advanced progressive technology. Petrobaltik, a joint organization set up by the GDR, Poland and the USSR, is engaged in geological surveys in the Baltic Sea.

Still, these are no more than initial steps. The use of this new form of cooperation could be considerably broadened. It would be expedient to set up such enterprises not only in the extracting but the processing industries, such as machine building and the light and food industries. They could also include countries which cooperate with CEMA members. Progress in this area would require additional efforts on the part of the ministries and departments in CEMA countries and the development of scientific studies of problems related to operating joint firms set up by the socialist countries.

### 3

The 36th CEMA Session (Budapest, June 1982) was a major step toward the solution of problems of economic intensification and strengthening the technical and economic independence of our countries.

A program for plan coordination for the period between 1986 and 1990 was adopted at the session. It included all requirements facing cooperation among socialist countries and laid the foundations for closer coordination of capital investments and further intensification of interaction in the most progressive economic sectors.

Coordination in economic and scientific and technical interaction will take place both in the choice of priority directions in cooperation and in the formulation of the coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures by CEMA countries between 1986 and 1990. Scientific and technical facilities will be provided for the solution of the most important economic problems beyond 1990. As a new international document, this coordinated plan proved its merits during the past 5-year period. It includes the most important



agreements on cooperation, which enables us efficiently to control the implementation of joint measures in investments, specialization and cooperation and scientific and technical interaction.

Such interaction among the fraternal countries has been energized in recent years. The CEMA Committee on Scientific and Technical Cooperation has begun to work with greater initiative. A number of major comprehensive programs were drafted and exchange of experience in scientific and technical progress was increased.

Our country has drafted 170 programs for major problems, including 41 comprehensive target programs. Most such programs are of prime importance in the development of the economic and scientific and technical potential not only of our country but of other CEMA members. This is confirmed by the fact that 80 of them have become targets of international cooperation.

CEMA's work on the development of scientific and technical cooperation still includes a number of unused reserves. Obviously, the activities of the CEMA Committee on Scientific and Technical Cooperation, the conferences of representatives of academies of sciences of the socialist countries and the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Planning could coordinate their activities more closely. In our view, these three competent CEMA organs rarely meet jointly for purposes of thorough consultations on particularly important priority problems in the development of scientific and technical progress. This may be one of the reasons for the fact that so far the agreement on the full satisfaction of the needs of the academies of sciences in CEMA countries for modern instruments for scientific research, on the basis of scientific and technical and production cooperation, has been still insufficiently implemented and available production capacities for such output in the individual countries are idling.

In our view, it would be useful for the CEMA Executive Committee to consider thoroughly the urgent problems of scientific and technical progress and the entire mechanism for managing scientific and technical cooperation within CEMA and to try to upgrade its efficiency.

In all of these areas it is important to take into consideration the specific conditions of economically less developed CEMA members such as Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. The program for plan coordination for the next 5-year period calls for the more extensive involvement of these countries in the international socialist division of labor and assisting them in the accelerated development of their economy, science and technology and allowing for more advantageous conditions for their cooperation.

The worsened international economic management conditions were taken into consideration in defining the objectives and tasks in the coordination of plans for 1986-1990.

The 36th CEMA Session firmly condemned the increased militaristic psychosis in the United States and in a number of NATO countries, paralleled by efforts to exert economic power pressure on the socialist countries.

The Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries have everything necessary to protect themselves from the intrigues of the imperialist forces. This is convincingly confirmed by the patriotic initiative of Soviet enterprises and organizations to ensure the timely completion of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas pipeline. The socialist countries, using their tremendous scientific and technical and production potentials, can meet even the most difficult problems in the development of decisive economic sectors in the comity and to ensure their technical independence from the West.

Given the international situation which has worsened as a result of the subversive activities of the present American administration, the Western reactionary circles are imposing limits on the expansion of economic relations which they try to use as a weapon in the struggle against real socialism. The Polish experience proves that the West can rapidly convert from encouraging economic relations through loans and cooperation agreements to a policy of pressure, blackmail and sanctions, should this suit its political interests. This could disturb the rhythm of socialist reproduction, particularly if it has become relatively firmly interwoven with the capitalist economy. This creates an extremely difficult economic situation which can be resolved only by reorienting toward the socialist countries production and commercial ties violated by the West.

To a certain extent, today Poland is engaged in such reorientation. On the request of its leadership, the USSR and the other CEMA members are actively working to use the production capacities of many Polish enterprises. The broadening of cooperation between Poland, on the one hand, and the USSR and the other socialist countries, on the other, will contribute to the healing of the Polish economy. W. Jaruzelski particularly noted the importance of stable deliveries from the USSR of raw and other materials and complementing items, loans and orders which make it possible to use a significant share of Poland's production capacities.

The experience of Poland and of many other CEMA members calls for a more profound study of the nature of economic relations with the West and, particularly, the effectiveness of the use of loans. This problems deserves very close attention.

The point is that funds borrowed from the West must be put into efficient economic circulation. Their use must ensure the type of increase in the national income which would make it possible to repay the loans with their interest and, furthermore, achieve additional results. Hence the need substantially to upgrade exports to the capitalist markets in order to ensure guaranteed foreign exchange earnings. In practice, however, this problem has proved to be exceptionally difficult. This is no accident. By virtue of its very nature the capitalist market is based on fierce competition. As a rule, it is characterized by relative overproduction. Furthermore, the capitalist economy is naturally subjected to crises. In many respects it is an unreliable and unstable partner.

The conclusion is that socialist economic integration must be developed more extensively and technical and economic independence from the West must be

strengthened, thus reducing the consequences of the disturbances in the capitalist economy and weakening the consequences of any possible political pressure applied by the capitalist countries.

Neither the USSR nor the other CEMA countries have ever called for breaking all ties with the developed capitalist countries. They have always favored economic cooperation on a European and global scale. Today such cooperation is opposed not by the CEMA countries but by the Reagan administration and the reactionary Western circles which support it. The socialist comity has been and remains a consistent fighter for peaceful coexistence between the two systems and for detente.

However, as experience has shown, economic relations with the West must be developed on proper political and economic foundations, strict equivalents and respect for the principles of reciprocal advantages and nonintervention in internal affairs. The use of borrowed funds required thorough economic estimates and rigid payment-financial control.

Socialist economic integration is gathering strength. It is becoming able to resolve increasingly more difficult problems and carry out increasingly greater projects. Through reciprocal cooperation in material production, the CEMA comity has been able rapidly and efficiently to resolve the problem of socialist industrialization and now accounts for one-third in global industrial output. Currently, along with integration an equally important problem is being resolved--total economic intensification. As always, it is the communist and worker parties, armed with the only true theory of social development--Marxism-Leninism--that provide the main impulse in this process.

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## ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE BUILDING OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 115-118

[Article by I. Biryukov and N. Fomin]

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee monthly NOVA MYSL justifiably plays an important role in the ideological arsenal of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The range of problems covered by the journal includes philosophy, political economy, scientific communism and history, party work, the Czechoslovak political system, culture, science and education, international relations, the socialist comity and the global communist and worker movements.

This year NOVA MYSL marked its 35th birthday. The new printed organ of the CPCZ appeared at a time when, in the course of the growth of the national democratic revolution into a socialist one, the question of "who-whom," raised by the logic of the political struggle, was being resolved. NOVA MYSL, which first appeared in May 1947, immediately joined the great efforts of the communist press in organizing the revolutionary masses and increasing the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the working class, the peasantry, and the progressive intelligentsia. After the victory of the February 1948 revolution, which provided opportunities for turning to the building of socialism in all fields of political, economic and cultural life, the journal played a noteworthy role in the ideological upbringing of the party aktiv. It contributed to the theoretical interpretation of the practice of building a new society and comprehensively popularized the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In 1954 it became the theoretical and political journal of the CPCZ Central Committee.

During the difficult and exceptionally important stage which marked the beginning of the building of a socialist society in the 1950s-1960s NOVA MYSL acted as the loyal assistant of the CPCZ in its theoretical, political, organizational and ideological-educational activities.

During the grave political crisis of 1968-1969, when the antisocialist and right-wing opportunistic forces, aiming their main strike at the CPCZ, were able to undermine its ideological unity and combat capability, the journal deviated from the right positions. However, the plans of the forces hostile to socialism and their imperialist inspirers were, as we know, wrecked. Following the April 1969 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum the new editorial team took the line of supporting the Marxist-Leninist party nucleus headed by

Comrade G. Husak and joined in the struggle against right-wing opportunism and revisionism. It published a series of articles, including those by Comrades G. Husak, V. Biljak, J. Lenart, J. Fojtik and other CPCZ leaders, aimed at uniting the Marxist-Leninist forces within the party, exposing the anti-Marxist nature of the counterrevolutionary plans of the right-wing opportunists, purging the ranks of the CPCZ from alien elements, restoring the party's ideological and organizational unity and intensifying fraternal relations with the CPSU and the other communist and worker parties in the socialist countries.

Today the responsible tasks facing NOVA MYSL are defined by the scale of the decisions made at the 14th, 15th and 16th CPCZ Congresses, which formulated the general line for building a developed socialist society in the CzSR. As was pointed out at the 16th party congress, this line represents a complex long-term Marxist-Leninist program for political, economic, social and spiritual development, a program of domestic and foreign Czechoslovak policy.

The dissemination of the truth about real socialism and the viability, reorganizing force and increased influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism must be the main content of the work of the mass information media. NOVA MYSL is firmly guided by this stipulation formulated at the 16th CPCZ Congress. The journal pays attention to mass political work. It is purposefully strengthening relation with social scientists; it publishes articles by senior central and local party personnel and prestigious representatives of Czechoslovak political and social life. The journal actively disseminates materials of CPCZ congresses and party documents containing guidelines for CPCZ ideological and political activities. This applies above all to the document "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and Czechoslovakia Following the 13th CPCZ Congress," which became the political and ideological platform for the successful building of socialism. The document stresses the importance of the class approach and the uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunistic and revisionist views. Also essential on this level are the 1974 CPCZ Central Committee Presidium decree "On the Development, Current Status and Tasks of the Social Sciences in the CzSR," and the resolutions of the March 1980 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum which dealt with the problem of political-educational and ideological work. Particular attention has been paid to the contribution of the 26th CPSU Congress to the solution of the most important economic, political, and ideological-educational problems of the further development of socialism.

In its study of political and socioeconomic processes in Czechoslovakia and throughout the world NOVA MYSL very persuasively describes the tremendous and permanent value of V. I. Lenin's theoretical legacy in terms of the revolutionary movement and the cause of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia and throughout the world. The journal rejects any attempt to deviate from Leninism or its belittling. Comrade G. Husak emphasizes that "Lenin's theory, life and activities give us the confidence that our path is the true and victorious one. Lenin's behests are sacred to us. Having learned from its own experience, our party will protect like the apple of its eye the purity of Lenin's ideas" (Gustav Husak, "Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rechi" [Selected Articles and Speeches]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1973, p 143).

The theoretical elaboration of the concept of developed socialism is the pivotal topic of the journal's articles. NOVA MYSL describes the strengthened positions of socialism and its growing attractiveness on the basis of specific social practice, checking it against the experience of the other members of the socialist comity and in terms of the contemporary global revolutionary movement and the aggravation of the class confrontation in the world arena. The journal covers problems of developed socialism also from the methodological positions of the comprehensive study of the entire system of sociopolitical relations, historicism, continuity of purposes and means to achieve them and the subordination of all specific decisions to the final objective -- building a communist society. It is thus that the journal helps to clarify the features of the dialectics of political development and CzSR economic, social and spiritual progress at the present stage of building mature socialism, which is a stage in the objectively necessary, natural and historically relatively long period of transition to communism. This stage consists mainly of the comprehensive maturing of the socialist system and the increasingly fuller and deeper manifestation of its laws and advantages.

The formulation by Czechoslovak social scientists of the criteria of maturity of the socialist society and the laws of developed socialism is based on Lenin's scientific prediction. Lenin spoke of "completed socialism," "full socialism" and "socialist society in its expanded aspect." The social scientists proceed from the need to take into consideration all of its components -- base, political superstructure and spiritual culture -- the ideological nucleus of which is the communist outlook of the masses. They note that in a mature socialist society the various areas of social life develop as structural components of a harmoniously and proportionally developing entity.

The enumeration of these main concepts, found in the articles "On the Characteristics of the Contemporary Stage in Building Socialism in the CzSR" (No 1, 1981), "Theoretical and Methodological Problems of Developed Socialism" (No 2, 1982), and many more articles, proves that the Czechoslovak theoreticians proceed from the live and close connection between the experience gained in building a mature socialist society in the USSR under the guidance of the CPSU and the implementation of the general line in building developed socialism in Czechoslovakia under the guidance of the CPCZ. This is most clearly confirmed by the materials of the theoretical science conference on theoretical-methodological problems of developed socialism, organized by the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the editors of NOVA MYSL, held in Prague on 27-28 January (see KOMMUNIST No 5, 1982).

NOVA MYSL pays very close attention to interpreting the process of enhancing the vanguard role of the CPCZ. Thus, the article by Comrade M. (Hruskovic), CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member, "Let Us Lead Actively and Work Efficiently" (No 5, 1982) and that by Comrade M. Bene, CPCZ Central Committee secretary "Let Us Increase the Party's Activity" (No 4, 1982) deal with the party's tasks in the national economy, improving the work style of party organs and organizations, training party cadres and supervising the implementation of decisions.

The journal links one of the most important aspects of upgrading the leading role of the CPCZ, armed with scientific theory and standing firmly on the

positions of internationalism, to the task of surmounting the contradictions which arise in the course of social development. Systematically guiding the activities of the masses, the party resolves such objective growth contradictions in the interest of all working people. At the same time, the leading and guiding force of society must prevent contradictions of a different nature, which be a result of work blunders, a gap between words and actions and subjectivistic errors in knowledge and practical work.

The articles "The Policy of the CPCZ in Strengthening the Alliance Among the Working Class, the Cooperated Peasants and the Intelligentsia (No 6, 1982), "The Social Structure in Our Society at the Turn of the 1980s: Condition and Prospects" (No 3, 1981) and others note the qualitative changes within the working class, the growth of its political maturity and level of education and culture, ideological tempering, and strengthened leading role in society; the decisive strengthening of the positions of socialism in the Czechoslovak countryside; and the intensified socialist nature of all social groups and the intelligentsia. This is the basis for the further rapprochement among classes and social groups and the achievement of social changes such as the virtually total elimination of the major disparities in the standard and way of life in town and country in the CzSR.

Strengthening the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and the shaping of the new man are the two main areas in the struggle for building a developed socialist society.

The CPCZ considers production intensification and improved efficiency the main way to resolve basic economic development problems. With its materials NOVA MYSL is contributing to the creative interpretation of the conditions governing the development of such processes in Czechoslovakia. The urgency and the essentially new quality of these problems are that high end economic results must be achieved despite the scarcity and even reduction of material and labor resources. As the leading party and economic workers and economists note in their articles, the slowing down of the pace of economic development in 1981-1982 will demand waging a decisive struggle for upgrading the efficiency and quality of all work and the fullest possible utilization of the substantial available economic and scientific and technical potential during the remaining 3 years of the current five-year plan or, in a word, the systematic implementation of the course set at the 16th CPCZ Congress calling for all-round intensification.

A large number of articles published recently promote the idea that the Czechoslovak economy has substantial reserves the discovery of which is hindered by the slow transition from primarily extensive to new economic management methods. Thus, the article "The Party's Leading Role in the Process of National Economic Intensification" (No 11, 1981) cites data according to which in the 1970s steel consumption per unit of output in the CzSR was 50 percent higher than in the FRG; consumption of conventional fuel per unit of created national income was 20-50 percent higher compared to a number of socialist and capitalist countries, while the shift coefficient in the use of machines and equipment equalled 1.325. Other articles include among long-term factors for the utilization of hidden economic reserves the need to improve the sectorial structure in industry, the implementation of a set of

measures to improve the planned management of the CzSR national economy, and increased control over the measure of work and consumption.

Regular journal topics include problems of the political organization in Czechoslovak society. Greater attention has been paid to it of late in connection with congresses held this year by the mass social organizations within the CzSR National Front: the revolutionary trade union movement, the Socialist Youth Union and the Union for Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, and in connection with the April CPCZ Central Committee Plenum on problems of activities of state and local administrative organs -- the national committees. In his article "Role of Social Organizations in the Political System of the CzSR" (No 2, 1982), Comrade I. Polednik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, emphasizes that along with the increased leading role of the party and stricter exigency toward the work of party members in all areas of social life a greater need arises for "conscious activeness by the people and the extensive participation of the working people in the management of the country and in resolving daily problems in enterprises, villages and towns. The task is increasingly to involve the broad toiling masses through the democratic organizations and institutions in the search for and elaboration of the most efficient means of further development of society and the shaping, execution of and control over our socialist policy" (p 18).

One of the basic problems repeatedly discussed by the editors is strengthening the unity and fraternity between Czechs and Slovaks and among all ethnic groups living in the CzSR. The importance of internationalist upbringing is considered in its internal and international aspects and on the level of pride in belonging to the socialist system, solidarity with the struggle waged by the international working class and the active rejection of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism.

The journal's articles note the natural increase in the significance of the subjective factor at the stage of building developed socialism; a great deal is being written on the subject of political-educational work, the assertion of the spiritual values of socialism and the complexities and comprehensive nature of this process. A broad range of problems related to the development of socialist consciousness, morality, humanism, the interconnection between material sufficiency and spiritual wealth and the development of sensible needs and interests in the individual is covered. NOVA MYSL also studies public opinion and tries objectively to determine the complexities related to the development of the spiritual values of socialism and the reasons for the existence of negative phenomena in the behavior and consciousness of some working people.

The journal point out that with the aggravation of the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism the example of real socialism triggers the hatred of our class foes. NOVA MYSL ascribe prime significance to the education of the working people in a spirit of class vigilance and intolerance of bourgeois ideology. The ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie, right-wing opportunism and revisionism of all hues and a variety of petit bourgeois vestiges in the mind are the main targets of uncompromising and principled criticism. The study of the appearance of a counterrevolutionary threat to socialism in Czechoslovakia at the end of the 1960s indicates the



importance of blocking the development of hostile ideological forces, antisocialist demagoguery and declined prestige of communist party policy and the weakening of the social base of the political system, as well as the importance of ensuring the timely solution of ripe problems on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

By steadily enhancing efficiency in educating the masses in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, the CPCZ is developing in the working people awareness of the need to be always ready to defend the socialist gains achieved by their country and the cause of socialism, progress and peace the world over. "The International Nature of the Defense and Protection of Socialism" is the one of the noteworthy articles carried by the journal (No 2, 1982).

As a firm and active member of the Socialist comity the CzSR bases its foreign policy on friendship, alliance and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and support of the peace program formulated by the CPSU. At the 16th CPCZ Comrade G. Husak firmly stated that "In the interest of preserving peace and providing favorable conditions for building a socialist society, and closely allied with the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, we shall do everything possible to strengthen the security of the socialist comity so that the aggressive imperialist forces will be unable to disturb the military-strategic balance. We shall continue to strive for the implementation of all peace initiatives jointly formulated and pursued by the socialist countries." Authors of articles on international problems legitimately point out that imperialism is being countered by the growing might and strengthening unity among the countries of real socialism.

The journal draws attention to factors which have worsened the current international situation, such as, for example, the influence of neoconservatism in contemporary U. S. foreign policy (Nos 7-8, 1982), the militarization of the economy of the capitalist states (No 9, 1982) and others. NOVA MYSL has published interesting articles such as "Prospects for Peace" (Nos 7-8, 1982), "The Communist Movement and Problems of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism" (No 5, 1982), and "The Developing World and the Need for Detente" (No 4, 1982). A number of articles have dealt with the aggravation of the ideological struggle in the world arena. The Czechoslovak communists are committed to a firm battle against imperialist ideology, nationalism, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism of all hues, we read in the article "Sixteenth Congress for the Unification of All Revolutionary Forces" (Nos 7-8, 1981). The article emphasizes that "Like all Marxist-Leninist parties the CPCZ is fighting not for unity for its own sake but for unity for the sake of its specific objective -- the struggle against imperialism. The CPCZ proceeds from the fact that today imperialism is acting as the enemy of peace and national and social progress, united on an international scale" (p 170).

The dynamic process of building a developed socialist society in the CzSR, convincingly described in NOVA MYSL, the theoretical and political journal of the CPCZ Central Committee, is manifested in the advancement of the entire political system, socialist statehood and all-round energizing of the working people in the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 16th

CPCZ Congress on the basis of the intensification of the economy and all social life and comprehensive rapprochement with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

In summing up the results of activities on the ideological-theoretical front in Czechoslovakia, NOVA MYSL welcomed the fact that the Czechoslovak social sciences have reached a new level, having become "a force which is marching alongside the party and under its leadership, which guarantees its further creative growth" (No 1, 1981, p 44). We believe that the theoretical and political journal of the CPCZ Central Committee has contributed to this achievement. Its work is a reflection of the tireless concern of the CPCZ for improving theoretical thinking and all ideological and political-educational work.

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## PAGES OF A PRICELESS HERITAGE; KARL MARX ON THE STUDY OF RUSSIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 82 pp 119-123

[Review by Professor V. Sarbey, doctor of historical sciences, Leningrad, of the book "Arkhib Marksa i Engel'sa" [Marx and Engels Archives], vol 16, Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, XXII + 405 pp]

[Text] The publication of one more volume of previously unpublished manuscripts on the eve of two major memorable dates -- the centennial of the death, in 1983, and 165th anniversary of the birth of the founder of scientific communism -- is an unquestionably important even in Soviet Marxian studies. This consecutive (16th) volume of "Arkhib Marksa i Engel'sa" is also noteworthy for being the fourth in the series of such volumes which put in scientific circulation materials on the socioeconomic and political history of Russia (essentially of the postreform capitalist period). The same questions are discussed in the 11th, 12th and 13th volumes of the Archives, published at different times, starting with 1948. All four volumes were prepared for publication by Doctor of Historical Sciences Raisa Pavlovna Konyushaya, senior scientific associate at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, an experienced publisher of Marx's works and one of the leading Soviet experts on the vast topic of "Karl Marx and Russia."

This topic has long been the focal point of a severe ideological struggle between labor and capital waged by the two opposite contemporary sociopolitical systems. The defenders of the world of "legitimized" exploitation of man by man (bourgeois ideologues and revisionists of all hues) are doing everything possible to distort the truth of the past and present of our homeland, claiming that the birth of the land of the soviets was not based on the objective laws of historical developments, even accusing the CPSU of building socialism...not according to Marx. Having inherited from the enemies of the bolshevik party -- the ideologues of counterrevolutionary liberalism, mensheviks, S. R., Trotskyites and others -- the worn-out ideological baggage of slanderous fabrications regarding scientific communism, today's bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers are not only ignoring sources whose content they find inappropriate but are also trying to reinterpret them in a maliciously tendentious way and to disseminate the false myths of Marx's "hatred of things Russian and the peasantry," etc. Grossly distorting the truly revolutionary and internationalist nature of his outlook, the present falsifiers are doing their best to depict Marx as a fierce opponent not of czarism but of Russia itself, a convinced ideologue of pitting it against "Western civilization."

It is also in this connection that the new data on the socioeconomic history of Russia in the 1860s-1870s assume a political relevance. The Soviet people and all progressive mankind cannot remain indifferent to one of the most crucial problems in Marxian studies -- the determination of the numerous aspects marking the attitude of the founder of scientific communism toward a country which was the first in the world to implement his immortal doctrine. The path leading to this triumph was difficult and complex, for after the 1861 reform the Russian and many other peoples in our country were forced to experience the horrors of capitalist exploitation for several decades, worsened by feudal-serfdom vestiges. All of this is convincingly shown in the published volume on the basis of extensive factual data. It includes most detailed summaries of two basic statistical-economic Petersburg publications, made by Marx between March-April 1875 and the beginning of 1876: The multiple-volume "Works of the Taxation Commission" (the present volume contains the final part of the summary, the beginning of which is included in volume 13 of Archives), and the fourth issue of VOYENNO-STATISTICHESKIY SBORNIK. These relatively unavailable (in their time marked for official use only, today considered a bibliographic rarity) sources include the most thorough and highly accurate information on the state of Russian agriculture and the situation of the peasantry during the first postreform decade, when the trend toward capitalist development had become clearly apparent, a development which, in the final account, was to prepare the objective conditions for a socialist revolution.

"If Russia," Marx noted in 1877 in his "Letter to the Editors of OTECHESTVENNIYE ZAPISKI," "is showing a tendency toward becoming a capitalist nation on the model of the West European nations -- something it has worked hard to achieve in recent years -- it would fail unless it turns in advance a significant share of its peasants into proletarians, after which, finding itself in the bosom of the capitalist system, it would become the subject of its merciless laws..." (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 120). A most thorough study of prime document sources reinforced this conclusion further. In the same letter, Marx himself testifies that, after learning Russian, he spent years studying official and other publications related to Russian economic development. The initial results of this major creative work were expressed in numerous (textual or summarized) extracts, notes on his impressions from his studies and most detailed summaries.

Today the overall volume of Marx's manuscript extracts from Russian sources kept at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archives, exceed 100 printer's sheets, most of them written in German and some in English, with an occasional sentence in Russian. The very existence of this huge volume of data indicates the groundlessness of the arguments of the bourgeois falsifiers to the effect that Marx was only casually interested in the problems of Russia's past, present and future. Such fabrications are further refuted by the content of Marx's manuscripts, most of which focus on problems related to the socioeconomic and political development of postreform Russia. This reflects the profound interest shown by Marx and Engels in the ever increasing role played by Russia in the global revolutionary process, something which was later summed up in the following Leninist concept: "...Marx and Engels clearly saw that in terms of the West

European labor movement as well a political revolution in Russia would be of tremendous importance" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 14).

In their preface to the second (1882) Russian edition of the "Communist Party Manifesto" the founders of scientific communism directly state that "...Russia is an advance element of the revolutionary movement in Europe" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 305). A large number of similar statements may be found in their correspondence, which is included in the 50-volume edition of their collected works. Let us particularly note several letters of this kind written in the 1870s, predicting the inevitability of a popular revolution in Europe, published for the first time in the recently printed Volume 50 (pp 461, 463-464).

According to Lenin, "The optimistic faith shown by Marx and Engels in the Russian revolution and its powerful universal significance" (op. cit., vol 15, p 247) was based on their profound and comprehensive study of its socio-economic and political motivations. They saw as a potential for a most powerful explosion of "the greatest social revolution" in Russia (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 32, p 549) the most difficult situation of the toiling masses bearing the burden of capitalist and semi-serfdom exploitation and the deepening and aggravation of social conflicts. The founders of scientific communism drew their information from statistical and other documentary sources and periodicals they were receiving from Russia through a variety of channels. The manuscripts which resulted from the study of such data reveal the nature of their activities as scientists, politicians and proletarian revolutionaries. As a rule, these manuscripts are profound creative scientific studies in which the description of sources is interwoven with theoretical summations and instructive remarks based on the study of large volumes of factual data.

Today the reader will find in the 16th volume of the "Archives" a large number of such Marxian statements, outstanding in presentation and profound in content. Unquestionably, they will not only draw the attention of scientists, and historians and economists specializing in the study of Russia's past but will assume their proper place in summing-up works and Russian history textbooks. Let us name a few among them. Here is, for instance, the way Marx reacts to the redemption fees for peasant allotments stipulated in the 1861 reform. Having studied most profoundly the redemption operation, which was formulated and executed in the interest of the landowners, Marx draws the conclusion that "...With the help of the government they forced the peasants to purchase from them with state loans their land at prices considerably exceeding their actual value. A smart operation!" (p 249). Let us bear in mind that the beginning of the "Summary of the 'Labor Taxation Commission'," in the 13th volume of the "Archives" includes a similar Marxian conclusion (see pp 31-32) in which he emphasized the active use made by the landowners of the coercive function of the state toward the peasant masses in the redemption operation, which is an "act of purchase -- the peasants buy their own land -- imposed upon and harmful to them."

In the part of the summary published in the 16th volume (pp 57-58), Marx exposes the antipeople serfdom policy which the czarist government tried to

pursue during the postreform period as well: "(...It begins by forcing the peasants to purchase the land at inflated prices, thus turning them into 'owners,' and once the peasants have been tricked (facing, furthermore, the threat of having to give up their allotments), the government lowers the price of the land, imposes exceptionally high land taxes and perpetuates serfdom, converting it from human to land ownership)" (pp 57-58). Elsewhere (p 158), Marx once again condemns this "maneuver" on the part of the czarist government, noting its aspiration "(initially to encourage the peasants to purchase their plots at a high price under the pretext that they will be granted full and free ownership rights, and later, retroactively, to levy even higher taxes on such land as being part of the allotment system)." The summary (p 128) also mentions the "monstrous fraud" perpetrated by the czarist government which did not hesitate to proclaim itself the guardian of the peasants, despite the fact that as a result of the 1863 reform it had actually "stolen" their so-called overall economic capital and was continuing to levy taxes "(thus, consequently, taking also the part which was allocated not for meeting the needs of the treasury but of the peasants themselves)."

Marx included most carefully in his summaries facts proving the cruel tax burden imposed on the masses in Russia, including the indirect taxes typical of capitalism and dues retained from the feudal-serfdom past, such as the poll-tax (see p 21); he draws attention to a "perl" (p 9) in the views of the allotment commission which enthusiastically noted that despite the "poverty of the farming classes" payments from them "are being received quite satisfactorily;" he emphasized that the elimination of serfdom "(communal ownership, based on lot farming, leads to the worst possible consequences incompatible with this system (with mutual guarantees in particular) -- to plot farming)" (p 45).

In his summaries Marx does not ignore a single fact confirming the intensive development of capitalist relations in the countryside. In some cases he simply includes in his summary facts such as refusals of allotments or leasing them out, sale of farmsteads whose owners look for work elsewhere or move permanently to the cities, and the mass spreading of rental relations and, on this basis, strengthening the prosperous rural upper crust which, gaining a determining influence in the municipality, "frequently gives vent to scandalous excesses" (see pp 49, 51-54, 172). Elsewhere, Marx adds his own conclusions to such facts. For example, at one point the "Labor Allotment Commission" states that outside work has become systematic for the peasants in Kherson Guberniya and that usually the peasant family assigns one of its members to outside jobs. Marx immediately defines the economic transformation of the latter: consequently, "(he engages in farming for someone else)" (p 201). According to Marx, the main reason for the fact that the peasants are moving from country to town, as reported by the Kharkov Uyezd Land Administration, is "(the result of the excessive taxation of the land)." He angrily exclaims "(to the sorrow, actually, of that reactionary truly landowners' administration)" (p 24).

Marx not only puts two exclamation points opposite but also expresses his indignation to the explanation given for the reasons triggering the objections of Saratov zemstvo members to taxing anyone who is able to work, regardless of class status (for in this case the rural population would be

taxed relatively less than the educated class whose education in youth was so hard to acquire and was so expensive to the parents): "(Amazing perspicacity! Out of whose pocket is this money going to the parents? And at whose expense does it become possible for this "educated" youth to study nothing?)" (p 116). Marx not only does not dissipate the fears of the zemstvo liberals in Kharkov Guberniya regarding the growth of "any sort of antagonism among classes in the state" but ironically expresses his firm conviction that not only will class antagonism be perpetuated but "so will the foul relations stemming from them" (p 61).

Marx totally crushes the pseudological views contained in the decree of the Kiev Guberniya Peasant Affairs Office to the effect that peasant land should be taxed higher than the landowners' on the basis that more manpower and working capital are required per peasant desyatina with the following devastating conclusion: "(According to this logic, the less land a person is given the more heavily he must be taxed, for a person owning one sazhen only should have more working capital per sazhen and probably use a greater percentage of his own person as manpower)" (p 166). This is based on similar views expressed by Kurland landowners to the effect that if a farm tax would be levied there instead of a poll-tax the majority of the rural population would be free from allotments, a view which Marx exposes by reminding us that "(i.e., because today as well it is free from both land and farmyard, having neither a cart nor farmland)" (p 212).

After recreating the original table of land-ownership breakdown in Russia on the basis of the data alphabetically presented in the VOYENNO-STATISTICHESKIY SBORNIK, by reclassifying them according to the natural-historical regions in the country, Marx entered in his summary the overall significant conclusion that "From the sum total of good land one third belongs entirely to the state, one fifth to the peasants and one fifth to all landowners, with the balance distributed among various estates. Thus, as in the past, the nobility totally predominates in Russia. It owns as much land as the rest of the Russian people" (p 266). On the basis of the same source Marx concretized (ibid., p 234) the per capita allocation of the land as a result of the 1861 reform "(an average of 673 desyatins per landowner and an average of 3.6 desyatins per male peasant), immediately adding that the same average figure obtains as a result of the study of the outcome of the mandatory purchase by the peasants of land allotments assigned to them "by law."

Marx looked upon the landless peasants of Russia in close connection with the establishment of capitalist relations in the country's economy and the appearance of an industrial proletariat. Russia's economic development proved the universality of the law Marx had discovered of the initial accumulation of capital. It enriched his understanding of its mechanism with new data. The second volume of "Das Kapital" includes materials from the Russian sources Marx studied and processed in the 1870s. This applies to the first stage in the circulation of capital and a description of the difficulties encountered by Russian landowners in reorganizing their land on a capitalist basis after the so-called emancipation of the peasants. Mention is made of the previously existing production system based on serfdom law (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 24, p 40, 126). In his study of disparities between the periods of production and labor Marx gives as an example the development

of a cottage industry among the peasants in the northern and central Russian guberniyas in which weather conditions allowed outdoors work for a maximum of 6 months or even less (ibid., pp 271-272).

"Russian materials" played a leading role in the third volume of "Das Kapital's" elaboration of the theory of land leasing. While still at work on the second volume, Marx had already informed his friends that in the part on land ownership he intended to discuss its Russian form in great detail ( see op. cit., vol 33, p 458). Russian sources provided Marx with particularly rich factual data in developing the theory of the differentiated land rental based on the quality of the land, differences in natural land fertility, farming methods, location of individual land plots in terms of the market, etc. The initial part of the "Summary of the 'Works of the Allotment Commission'" (included in the 13th volume of the Archives) as well as the second section contained Marx's thoughts on the subject. For example, having analyzed the table on the breakdown of the land tax based on the value and profitability of a desyatina in each separate uyezd in all guberniyas in European Russia, Marx pointed out that in this case great importance was ascribed to the qualitative differences among farmlands, drawing the following overall conclusion applicable to the entire country: "(Let us note at this point that the differences in farmland (are based) above all on the three-field farming system, in which each one of the fields is planted in sequence; secondly, the arable land itself was initially linked with forests and meadows, rather than being isolated, thus automatically increasing its consumer value, i.e., making farming it more profitable compared with different situations. This gives the land a differentiated value. This can be quite clearly explained by using Russia as an example)" (pp 86-87).

This expressive remark make even more meaningful Marx's familiar statements on the Russian sources he studied and their scientific value to the development of scientific communism. It sheds further light on the authoritative testimony of Engels, the compiler of the two volumes of "Das Kapital" which were published after the death of their author. In the preface to the first edition of the third volume, in 1894, Engels wrote that "Thanks to the variety of forms of land ownership and exploitation of agricultural producers in Russia, the country was scheduled to play in terms of land rental a role as important as that of England, described in the first volume, in the study of industrial hired labor" (op. cit., vol 25, part I, p 10). However, since Marx personally was unable to include in the manuscript of the third volume the results of his studies of Russian sources, Engels considered the expediency of publishing them in their totality in a separate work (see op. cit., vol 36, p 84). As we can see, this idea was implemented in our time.

The prefaces to the 11th and subsequent volumes of the Archives, which included the manuscript legacy of the founders of scientific communism on problems of the socioeconomic development in postreform Russia, show the similarity of scientific interests shown by Marx and Lenin in their Russian studies, in the choice of sources, processing method and extraction of facts and ideas. The subsequent intensified study of Marx's manuscripts by Soviet scholars considerably broadened the range of such observations and summations, thus entirely disarming present-day bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers who are trying to erect a Chinese wall between Marx and Lenin and to



prove that Leninism is not a direct extension and development of Marxian doctrine but merely one of its "national variants," allegedly valid only within the limited confines of Russia. Actually, although Lenin was unfamiliar with Marx's manuscripts on the history of Russia, the major conclusions of both leaders of the international proletariat coincide entirely. Therefore, here again we can trace the continuity in the development of theoretical thinking on the part of the founders of scientific communism, from Marx to Lenin.

The preface to the 16th volume of the "Archives" also repeatedly notes that, like Marx, in the course of his creative work on the history of development of capitalism in Russia, Lenin used, among others, the same sources: zemstvo or government publications of documents issued by various commissions, etc. Lenin's "Development of Capitalism in Russia" and "The Agrarian Program of the Social Democratic Movement During the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907," like Marx's manuscripts, use identical methods in computing and compiling statistical data, and note the same phenomena of increased socioeconomic oppression by the exploiting landowner and bourgeois classes of the masses of toiling peasants and workers, the aggravation of class contradictions as a result of the development of capitalist relations and the existence of major serfdom vestiges in all areas of socioeconomic and political life.

It is no accident in the least that the Russian agrarian problem, related to the destinies of the multi-million-strong peasant masses, representing first of all a powerful reserve for a proletarian revolution in Western Europe and later an increasingly reliable ally of the rapidly developing revolutionary Russian proletariat, holds a leading position in the scientific and political interests of Marx and Lenin, the great proletarian revolutionaries. By studying the development of agrarian relations in Russia the classics of Marxism-Leninism touched the foundations of the forthcoming democratic revolution, its national characteristics, and the position of the peasant movement in the common liberation struggle. Both Marx and Lenin closely related their study of the development of capitalism in agriculture to that of similar processes in industry. In this case, as proletarian revolutionaries, they were mainly interested in the problem of shaping permanent cadres of the working class -- the leading force in social progress. Lenin brilliantly continued the study of the socioeconomic system in Russia, which Marx and Engels had initiated, making his tremendous contribution to the development of the theory of scientific communism, which became a reliable compass in the struggle waged by the peoples of our country and the working people the world over for the bright future of mankind.

The publication of new documents from Marx's manuscripts, which supplement the printed works and correspondence between Marx and Engels on Russia will have a positive impact, when put into scientific circulation, on the interpretation of Marxist-Leninist history and theory. They will provide further methodological tools to historians, economists and other social scientists and ways and means of scientific Marxist research.

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## USSR CONSTITUTION IN ACTION

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[Review by E. Kuz'min of the following books: 1. "Konstitutsiya SSSR. Politiko-Pravovoy Kommentariy" [The USSR Constitution. Political-Legal Commentary]. Introduction by B. N. Ponomarev, general editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 398 pp; 2. "Konstitutsiya Strany Sovetov. Slovar'" [The Constitution of the Land of the Soviets. A Dictionary]. Compiled by B. N. Topornin. V. N. Kudryavtsev, A. I. Luk'yanov and G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 285 pp; 3. M. S. Smirtyukov. "Sovetskiy Gosudarstvennyy Apparat Upravleniya" [The Soviet State Management Apparatus]. Problems of the organization and activities of central organs. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 256 pp; 4. D. L. Zlatopol'skiy. "Verkhovnyy Sovet SSSR -- Vrazitel' Voli Sovetskogo Naroda" [The USSR Supreme Soviet -- Expressor of the Will of the Soviet People]. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Yuridicheskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1982, 280 pp]

[Text] The 1977 USSR Constitution -- the outstanding sociopolitical document of our time -- has become a powerful factor in the all-round development of the initiative and activeness of the people's masses in all communist construction sectors, the further intensification of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the guarantees of the broad socioeconomic, political and individual rights and freedoms of the citizens. "The USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics," states the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, "are the concentrated manifestation of the most essential changes which have taken place in the economic, social and spiritual life in Soviet society and the profoundly democratic nature of our state."

During the 5 years which have passed since the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution dozens of books and hundreds of pamphlets and articles on this political-legal document, justifiably described as the charter of developed socialism, have been published in our country. Of late, publications on this topic have become enriched by a number of new works, different in terms of theme, size, content and form of presentation, but serving the single noble purpose of revealing the great historical advantages of the first socialist state of the whole people in the world and the heights which can be reached by a society in which socialism has emerged victorious, as reflected in the fundamental law.

Every year in the life of the new constitution makes new substantial contributions to the solution of the problems of communist construction and the struggle for peace and international cooperation. This powerful life-affirming influence of the country's fundamental law triggers fear and hatred among our ideological opponents, who are persistently trying to distort and slander the profound and consistently democratic and humane meaning of the main constitutional stipulations. At the same time, many people abroad have an incomplete and insufficiently clear idea of Soviet reality and sometimes approach the constitution of the state of the whole people on the basis of concepts characteristic of a society with antagonistic classes, the result of which is its misinterpretation. That is why the clarification of the true meaning of our constitution and the depiction of the main differences which distinguish it from the constitutions and laws of capitalist countries are of exceptional importance.

The value of such publications is that they convincingly describe, frequently in the course of debates with our ideological opponents, the socioeconomic prerequisites for the constitutional norms and principles, their specific content and possibilities of and methods for their implementation. Another merit of such books is that they describe quite extensively cases which clearly illustrate the superiority of the socialist compared to the capitalist way of life.

The Commentary provides a detailed substantiated study of each article in the fundamental law. It not only clarifies their legal, their juridical aspects but also their political and ideological significance, referring to legislative acts related to one article or another. The Dictionary, which includes extensive theoretical and factual data on the various areas of life in Soviet society, can be used as a reference work as well. Thanks to the strictly alphabetized location of the articles, the reader can easily and quickly locate the necessary information. The monographs by M. S. Smirnyukov and D. L. Zlatopol'skiy are also accessible to the broadest possible readership in terms of content, form and style.

The books under review are related by the fact that they were published during the period of preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and that they summarize and analyze the great experience gained in terms of the close interaction among all union republics within the Soviet multinational state for the successful solution of problems related to building communism and contribution to the internationalist upbringing of the working people in our multinational homeland.

It is natural for each one of these works to concentrate on the leading role of the communist party. The practice of real socialism and reality itself have exposed the false assertions of the anticommunists concerning the allegation that our constitution codifies the "totalitarian form of a one-party system," that the party restricts the activities of state organs, etc. The Commentary (see pp 34-38) and the Dictionary (see pp 108-115) convincingly prove that the CPSU fulfills its vanguard role in the revolutionary reorganization of society by relying above all on its high authority and the boundless trust and support of the people. The scale and complexity of communist construction tasks, the enhanced level of ideological work and the

consistent development of socialist democracy determine the further enhancement of the party's leading role at the mature socialist stage. Another characteristic feature is that it was precisely during that period that the USSR Constitution included the stipulation that all party organizations must function within the framework of the fundamental law. Consequently, the principle of socialist legality fully applies to the communist party as well, the Commentary authors conclude (see p 38). This is a convincing answer to the fabrications of our foes regarding the alleged "uncontrolability" of the party and "lack of connection" between it and the constitutional norms!

M. S. Smirnyukov's book justifiably pays greater attention to the principle of party leadership in the organization and activities of the Soviet administrative apparatus and control over its work (see pp 53-57 and 212-214).

The purpose of the comprehensive activities of trade union, youth, women's and other public organizations and the steadily growing initiative of labor collectives is to determine and implement the will of the people's masses. Naturally, such problems are properly discussed in the books under review. Giving specific examples and suitable figures and facts, the authors of the Commentary and the Dictionary describe the mechanism of participation of labor collectives in discussing and resolving governmental and public affairs, production and social development planning and other problems related to enterprise and establishment management, improvements in working and living conditions, etc. The labor collective is justifiably considered a level in our political, economic and social system (and also a good answer to discussions conducted among our publications) (see the Commentary, p 45).

The works under review prove that the implementation of the party's economic strategy and improvements in economic and planning management, which were urged at the 26th CPSU Congress, are most closely related to the further development of democracy. The successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the 11th have brought to life new powerful forces and reserves inherent in the socialist system. The party has always considered the increased initiative and creative activities of the working people the key to the increasingly full utilization of the advantages of socialism and the socialist planned economy.

The Commentary analyzes in detail the most important directions in the development of socialist democracy, emphasizing that this development represents an objective vital need of our society (see pp 46-58). The corresponding article in the Dictionary takes a fresh approach which goes beyond traditional presentations of the question (see pp 228-232). In the monograph on the Supreme Soviet the main problems are considered through the lense of democracy. The profoundly democratic nature of management under socialism is the leitmotif of the book on the Soviet state machinery.

V. I. Lenin considered ensuring the mass participation of the working people in the administration of governmental affairs "A wonderful means" capable of "expanding tenfold our state apparatus immediately, in one fell swoop" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 34, p 313). Today this has become our daily practical reality. The political system of Soviet society truly ensures the real and extensive participation of the citizens in

governmental affairs and their involvement in the discussion, consideration and resolution of problems of economic and sociocultural construction.

Soviet system... These two words mark a more than 60-year-old path of work and struggle, the achievements and successes of which are unparalleled in world history. The soviets have covered the distance from organs of strikes, revolutionary struggle waged by the people's masses and prototype of the new system to becoming the political foundation and the backbone of the state of the whole working people. Today they number 2.3 million deputies and an aktiv of more than 30 million. It was precisely the soviets that Lenin justifiably considered the "most sensitive barometer showing the development and growth of the political and class maturity of the masses (op. cit., vol 37, p 312). The views on the soviets as organs of true democracy expressed in the Commentary and the Dictionary are properly illustrated with figures and facts. In their analysis the authors proceed from the concept of essential significance expressed by L. I. Brezhnev, according to which any one of our soviets is a particle of the supreme power. It not only has the right to resolve all problems within its jurisdiction but to act as a channel for nationwide decisions as well.

One of the principal merits of the books under review is also the fact that they analyze the new data on the varied and fruitful activities of the soviets in the implementation of the party's socioeconomic policy, raising a number of current practical questions.

This is understandable, for the soviets of people's deputies have always considered problems of managing the country's economy, improving socialist social relations and laying the material and technical foundations for communism as being among the most important. The communist party invariably proceeds from the fact that "The soviets must become organs regulating the entire production system" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 35, p 148). They must act "not only as an apparatus for agitation and information but as a regulated practical mechanism as well" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezдов, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Central Committee Plenums], Vol 2, Politizdat, Moscow, 1970, p 76). Particularly extensive work has been done in recent years to implement these basic stipulations.

The enhanced role of the soviets is a natural reflection of the need to perfect the social management mechanism. The general management of the state provided by the soviets becomes particularly important under the conditions of a multisectorial economy, more complex social relations and increased interaction among economic, political and ideological factors. Under contemporary conditions they determine to an increasing degree the successes achieved in resolving the problems of building communism nationally and locally.

The books describe the mechanisms of management in the various areas of state, economic and sociocultural construction, emphasizing in particular that under current conditions the soviets perform the important function of ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of the territory under their jurisdiction.

M. S. Smitryukov's book extensively reflects the activities of the state management organs in upgrading the material and cultural living standards of the people. In discussing problems related to the development of our agrarian sector, the author emphasizes that improving population food supplies is as much an economic as a social problem. This makes clear the importance of these concepts in the light of the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Food Program it formulated, aimed at coordinating the production, preservation and processing of agricultural commodities.

The work of the state apparatus covers virtually all facets of social life. The increased level of maturity of socialist social relations and the growing complexity of economic and social development tasks call for steady improvements in the style and methods of work of the apparatus and the application of a scientific organization of labor in management. The author proves that the task of upgrading the effectiveness and quality of work in the national economy must be implemented on the same scale in the work of the apparatus. It is a question first of all of improving the practical interaction among its units and the adoption of a comprehensive approach to improving all aspects of administrative activities. The administrative apparatus must be maximally efficient, simple, inexpensive and close to the production process and the masses.

Based on Lenin's works, the decisions of the communist party and the Soviet state and L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and instructions, the works under review reveal the social purpose of the USSR state apparatus and its creative role in the implementation of a variety of tasks. They provide a profound and comprehensive interpretation of the basic directions followed in the activities of the superior representative and executive power organs at the present stage, related to resolving problems of communist construction and the organizational ways, style and methods of their work and forms of interaction with socialist organizations and labor collectives, which ensure the extensive participation of the masses in management.

The book by D. L. Zlatopol'skiy treats a topic which, despite its exceptionally practical-political significance, has not as yet been properly considered in our literature (a the monographic study specifically dealing with the activities of the supreme representative power organ in the USSR). On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of democracy the author studies the representative nature of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He organically relates the question of its supreme rule to that of the sovereignty of the people. The very intent deserves a positive rating -- the consideration of the principle of the full power exercised by the Supreme Soviet through the lens of its competence and control activities and the combination and merger among legislation, management and control (see Chapter 3).

Like the Commentary and the Dictionary, this book considers the legislative activities of the supreme power organ in the country and describes the close ties linking the deputies to the people's masses, something which allows them to reflect public opinion knowledgeably and to use it in passing legislation and controlling its execution.

Efforts to improve legislation and to make it consistent with the conditions and requirements of the developed socialist society became particularly energetic after the adoption of the new constitution. In accordance with the plan for legislative work, some 20 major laws and other legislative acts were passed in 1978-1981 alone, including laws on the USSR Council of Ministers, elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the procedure for concluding, executing and denouncing international treaties, citizenship, clean air protection, preservation and utilization of the animal world and foundations of housing legislation. As the authors point out, the characteristic feature of legislative activities, along with expanding the range covered by regulations, has been the systematic democratization in drafting legislation, the active participation of the public and scientists in this process, the extensive discussion of draft laws, etc.

Problems of national-state construction in the USSR and the study of the typical features of the Soviet federation and its subjects are among the most extensively treated topics in these works. Today this is of particular importance in connection with the ceaseless efforts on the part of bourgeois ideologues to do everything possible to belittle the significance of the founding of the USSR and to distort the principles incorporated in its constitution.

The works convincingly prove that socialism and the establishment of a federation of an essentially new type ensured the ascent of previously backward peoples to the peaks of modern civilization and the steady rapprochement among them and their comprehensive blossoming. Today all Soviet republics are distinguished by their dynamic economic growth, highly developed industry, agriculture and science, and a cultural blossoming. At the same time, each one of them fully retains its unique aspect and originality of national features.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR notes that the country has resolved in its essential lines the problem of equalizing the level of economic development of Soviet republics and ensuring the juridical and actual equality of all nations and nationalities. The great tasks of building communism, earmarked by the 26th CPSU Congress, the implementation of the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 and the Food Program call for even closer unity and interrelated efforts among the working people in all republics and the strengthened power of the Soviet state.

The factual data found in the books irrefutably prove that it is precisely within the framework of the USSR that the great fraternity among working people, united by common class interests, objective and tasks, has strengthened. Today the level of development of national relations, consistent with the conditions of mature socialism, is expressed through the high level reached by the all-union economy -- the single interrelated national economic complex; the unbreakable unity of the statehood of the union and the national statehoods of the individual republics; the blossoming, rapprochement and reciprocal enrichment of the cultures of the socialist nations and nationalities; and the comprehensive assertion of Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist internationalism and friendship among the peoples. The summation

of the results of the development of our multinational society led the party to the conclusion that during the period of socialist construction a new historical, social and international community -- the Soviet people -- had appeared in the country.

The voluntary joining of the USSR by the Soviet republics and their free development within the single union multinational state are the most important confirmation and guarantee of their sovereignty. We are also familiar with the stipulation of scientific communism that the sovereignty of all nations and their right to self-determination do not mean in the least that this right can be exercised only through the establishment of a separate state. The Commentary and the Dictionary discuss the various means of national self-determination of the Soviet peoples. Thus, the exercise of their right to sovereignty, backed by a wide choice of material, political-organizational and legal instruments, is manifested in the case of some in the sovereign power of union republics and in others in state power exercised on an autonomous basis and the independent solution of a rather wide range of problems facing autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs.

By reflecting the steady rapprochement among Soviet socialist nations, the USSR Constitution serves the further consolidation of the union principles of the multinational state and organically combines socialist federalism with democratic centralism. It offers reliable protection from manifestations of parochialism and national exclusivity and neglect of the specific interests of nations and nationalities.

The federal nature of the Soviet multinational state is manifested in the structure of its organs as well. D. L. Zlatopol'skiy's book describes the influence of the two-chamber structure of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its representative nature and that of the federal nature of the USSR on legislative activities (see Chapter 2, part 2 and Chapter 4, part 2). Smirnyukov discusses the manifestation of the combination of socialist federalism and democratic centralism in the activities of the administrative apparatus. Thus, in accordance with the constitution the USSR government includes ex-officio the chairmen of the councils of ministers of union republics. Another long-established institution -- permanent missions of the councils of ministers of union republics attached to the USSR council of Ministers -- has been fully justified (see pp 67-72).

The Commentary and the Dictionary, which provide a comprehensive study of the Soviet Constitution, deal extensively with the problem of relations between the state and the individual and the legal status of USSR citizens. The 1977 fundamental law, these works point out, crowns all previous efforts to improve legal control of social life. While retaining already codified rights (to work, rest, education, social insurance and others), it has considerably deepened their content. Furthermore, for the first time the constitution codifies the right of the citizens to housing and health care and formulates more fully many other socioeconomic, political and individual rights and freedoms (see Commentary, Chapter 6; Dictionary, pp 175-185).

The principle "Everything for the Sake of Man, for the Good of Man" is the basis for the extensive social program formulated by the 24th and 25th party



congresses and further developed at the 26th CPSU Congress and successfully executed by the Soviet people. It is continually focused on problems of housing construction, improving population food supplies, increasing the production of consumer goods and upgrading their quality, and improving consumer services and trade. The results of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum reemphasized that the party is clearly aware of its main strategic objective -- the steady enhancement of the material and cultural living standards of the people -- and that it defines the accurate ways to achieve it, in accordance with the requirements of the corresponding development stage.

In their efforts to depict the unity of rights, freedoms and obligations under socialism as "violations of human rights," our ideological opponents "forget" that in the land of the soviets problems of the interrelationship between the individual and the state are resolved in the absence of antagonistic contradictions among classes and nations. Naturally, individualistic arbitrariness and anarchic scorn for civic duty or any type of action harmful to the social interest are incompatible with the socialist way of life. The experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries most emphatically proves that high civic responsibility, strengthened social discipline and respect for the laws are necessary prerequisites for the efficient development of socialist democracy, the increased well-being of the people and the increasingly full satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements (see the Commentary, pp 183-184; the Dictionary, p 174).

Help in consolidating peace and developing international cooperation are among the main tasks of the socialist state of the whole people. A separate chapter in the constitution formulates the basic directions and principles governing the foreign policy of the USSR. These problems have been justifiably considered by the authors of the Commentary and the Dictionary (see, respectively, pp 105-112 and 37-41). The preface to the Commentary cites L. I. Brezhnev's statement at the 26th CPSU Congress that "Today the most essential and important problem facing all nations is the preservation of peace and securing the primary right of every person -- the right to life."

As we may see, virtually all aspects of the USSR Constitution have been covered to one extent or another in the books under review. It is true that lesser attention has been unjustifiably paid to some of them. Unfortunately, let us note in particular that, in our view, problems related to the activities of the permanent commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet have not been duly discussed in the Dictionary or the in the work which deals especially with the activities of the supreme representative power organ. Zlatopol'skiy's work deals mainly with the legal status of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, defining its role in organizing the activities of the supreme power organ. However, it would have been useful to deal, albeit briefly, with some of its functions, such as the exercise of the policy of awards, consideration of citizens' appeals, ratification of international treaties, amnesty and others. The author has virtually ignored problems of the many-faceted foreign policy activities of the Supreme Soviet.

The Dictionary pays insufficient attention to the ratification of international treaties, which is one of the most important functions of the

Presidium. It makes no clear distinction between citizens'"petitions" and "proposals" (although special legislation has been drafted to this effect), and allows other omissions and inaccuracies. In the Commentary, the printing of which is by and large of high quality, does not quote the constitutional articles in a different script, as a result of which they blend with the author's text.

These shortcomings do not detract from the overall favorable impression created by the books under review, which substantially enrich our governmental-legal science and the ideological and theoretical arsenal of lecturers and propagandists. The systematic intensification of socialist democracy, entirely consistent with the USSR Constitution and regardless of the efforts of our ideological opponents to prove the opposite, is a characteristic feature of Soviet society and the main direction in the development of socialist statehood. These works will supply the readership with further convincing proof of this unequivocal truth.

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